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ABSTRACT

The four papers in this volume address questions raised by the Dean's Grants Program. Among the themes addressed are the potential of deans to fulfill the role of change agent, techniques used in decision making and exercising authority, and faculty members' and deans' perceptions of the dean's role. Carole R. Sivage, in "Advocates of Change: An Analysis of Deans' Roles as Directors of Dean's Grant Projects" presents the results of interviews conducted at 10 institutions receiving Dean's Grants. In an analysis of the case studies, it is suggested that advocacy on the part of the dean should be examined descriptively and qualitatively. Appended to the study is a seven-part outline of the interview questions. In his paper, "Using Structure, Action, and Power to Make Teacher Preparation Responsive to Public Law 94-142," John M. Bryson discusses the nature of power in teacher education institutions. Political activities related to decision making are explained in terms of forums, arenas, and courts, and a model, designed to help with Dean's Grant Project administration, is introduced. John M. Bryson and Karin Fladmoe-Lindquist examined judgments of teacher educators during a simulated planning exercise in "Changing Teacher Education: Addressing the Political Difficulties." The focus was on tactics used in planning and decision making related to specified contextual variables. The results of a survey of 104 deans and interviews with deans and faculty members are reported by Kathy A. Okun in "Deans as Change Agents: Testing Assumptions of the Dean's Grant Program." The conclusion of the study endorses the concept of deans as key change agents for curricular change. (FG)

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Politics, Power, and Personality:

The Roles of Deans in Dean's Grant Projects

Carole R. Sivage
John M. Bryson
Kathy A. Okun

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Foreword

The initiation of the Dean's Grant Program in 1974 raised a number of questions which had not been heard before. Prior to this program, federal grants tended to be awarded to individuals or groups of individuals to conduct research or to expand training programs in particular areas. Dean's Grants, however, were awarded directly to deans to initiate revisions institution wide: teacher-education programs in this instance. It was the potential of deans to fulfill this role that raised the following questions.

1. Does a dean of education have the authority to initiate changes in the teacher-preparation curriculums?

2. Is a potential for change invested in the office of dean?

3. Does a dean have the power to act as a change agent?

4. If a dean tries to exercise the authority of his/her office to initiate change, what techniques does he/she use?

5. Do a dean of education and education faculty members perceive the dean's role in the same way?

5. If a dean desires to initiate changes in curriculums, how should he/she use the power of the deanship to carry them out?

7. How do deans make decisions?

These questions are answered in the four papers making up this book.

The papers by Sivage and Okun are among the few in the literature directed to the topic of the dean's role in changing the content of courses. In a sense, they evaluate the initial premise of the Dean's Grant program but from different points of view. Okun looks at whether the dean has the authority and power to institute change whereas Sivage examines the techniques used by deans to initiate change.

Bryson, in his first paper, examines the nature of power in an organization like a college of education and then shows how the potential for power can be used to initiate changes. The example he uses is that of a Dean's Grant Project. In his second paper, Bryson and his co-author try to answer the question of how much contingencies figure in the decisions made by deans.

Results are not yet definitive but they are, nevertheless, highly interesting. Few previous efforts to look at how decisions are made have dared to include as many variables and circumstances as have Bryson and his colleague.

These four papers are, indeed, seminal in their results as well as intent.

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Maynard C. Reynolds, Director
National Support Systems Project

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Advocates of Change: An Analysis of Deans' Roles as Directors of Dean's Grant Projects

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University of Portland

Inevitable though it may be, change is disconcerting. It can be seen as a challenge or a threat. Five hundred years ago, Niccolo Machiavelli wrote,

> Resistance to reform derives partly from fear of the opposing faction which supports it, and partly from the innate conservatism of mankind and its suspicion of change. (p. 6)

Nevertheless, change occurs. It is a characteristic of all institutions that survive over time. Public schools, for example, are far different today from what they were 100 or even 25 years ago. Some changes occurred as a result of new theoretical insights into the learning process that were developed in institutions of higher education and passed down to the schools, and some were imposed upon the schools by new social policies.

Today, schools are under attack to change from a number of sources: criticism of the educational system, changes in society, pressures from community action groups and the courts, and new inclusive legislation, particularly The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (Public Law 94-142). This law mandates a new philosophy of and approach to educating children with different kinds of handicaps that depends upon the acquisition of new knowledge and skills by regular educators. Although the law is directed to the education of handicapped children, it carries implications for all children who attend public schools. For example, it mandates "appropriate"

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The research project reported in this chapter was funded through the Office of Special Education (U.S. Department of Education) and the University of Maryland National Professional Leadership Development program.

I am indebted to Diane Reinhard, then Assistant Dean, and Richard Arends, Associate Professor, both of the College of Education, University of Oregon, for their technical support and assistance with site interviews.

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education in "least restrictive environments" according to "individualized educational plans" that are developed with the participation of parents, and parents have the right to "due process" if they disagree with the individualized plan.

In order to facilitate compliance with the law, the Congress included in the provisions funding for the retraining of teachers already working in the schools. However, recognizing that teachers in training also would need these skills and knowledge, the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare) initiated the Dean's Grant program prior to 1975 through which there were offered to qualifying schools and departments of education in colleges and universities relatively small grants to bring about revisions in teacher-preparation programs. In 1979-80, grants with a mean value of $40,000 were awarded to over 140 deans in colleges and universities around the country. The grants carried two major requirements:

1. The dean must serve as project director.

2. The grant must be used to stimulate changes in regular teacher-preparation programs so that all graduates of the programs will be prepared to meet the needs of handicapped students in regular schools and classrooms.

These requirements are both innovative and problematic. They are based on the assumption that deans, by serving as project directors, can be instrumental in reorganizing teacher education. The original grant announcement from Dr. Edwin W. Martin (July 29, 1974) addressed the charge directly to deans of schools and colleges of education and requested their assistance as change agents to prepare regular teachers to meet the needs of handicapped children in an expanded mainstream.

Little empirical evidence supports the assumption that deans are critical to the success of Dean's Grants although the literature on change and innovation in elementary and secondary public schools stresses the importance of administrators in facilitating change efforts there (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975; Emrick, Peterson, & Agarwala-Rogers, 1977; Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; Miles, 1964; Runkel, Schmuck, Arends, & Francisco, 1979). The evidence was not directed to change in institutions of higher education, nor was the role of key administrators (e.g., department chairpersons, deans) in promoting change in such institutions carefully examined. Thus, the requirement that the dean, the top administrator in a school or department of education, serve as director of a special project which is organized to revise curriculum, anticipated a set of behaviors that are not traditionally associated with the formal authority and status of the dean's role.

The problem is clear. Deans have been put in the position of change agents in reorganizing teacher-training programs with but little direct empirical support for this role. Even less information is available on the actual behavior of deans, yet knowledge of the behaviors that support change to

the extent mandated by the Dean's Grant program is essential to both present planning activities and future policy decisions. Thus, in the study reported here, the roles of administrators in public schools and institutions of higher education, which are described in the literature, were compared with (a) the observed behaviors of deans and (b) the reports of deans' performances obtained from interviews with personnel at the project sites. In addition, a comparison was made of case studies at different sites to identify behaviors that are viewed as helpful or not helpful to the process of change. In sum, information to answer the following questions was sought:

1. When deans of education are put into the role of project director, what do they do?
2. Which specific behaviors of deans are seen as supportive of change efforts? In other words, how do deans act who are seen as advocates of change in higher education?

The methodology used in site selection, site-visit procedures, and cross case analysis is described in the next section. Seven brief case studies follow; they exemplify the kinds of data that were collected. Although 10 sites were visited, each of the seven case studies highlights an essential feature of the project and illustrates how deans and project personnel adapt goals and strategies to fit a particular situation at an institution. Furthermore, these case studies provide the background for the report of the findings.

Each part of the results section analyzes a particular role of deans which our research found to be especially important. The roles are described, using data, relevant quotations from interviews, and appropriate references from the literature that formed the conceptual base for this research. One part of the results section provides a counterpoint by describing behaviors that were perceived as nonsupportive, or not helpful to the change effort. A summary of findings and their implications concludes the report.

Methodology

Adapted for use in this study is the methodology developed for a recent study of school principals and externally funded change projects which was sponsored by the University of Oregon Teacher Corps Project (Reinhard, Arends, Kutz, & Wyant, 1979; Wyant, Reinhard, & Arends, 1980). The methodology takes the form of case study exploratory research, which is probably more properly described as "mini-case study" because of the relatively short time spent at each site (an average of 2 days). The advantages of exploratory field research methodology are apparent, given the purpose of this study: to examine the role and actions of deans within the context of particular institutional settings. Exploratory case study research offers the sort of factual in-depth description and attention to details that clarify the structure

and influence of the context and the processes of change in higher education settings.

Literature from the fields of ethnography, naturalistic inquiry, and case study methodology guided the planning of this research. Robert Stake's ideas on case studies, presented in The Logic of the Case Study (1976), were particularly helpful, as was John Lofland's (1971) practical guide to qualitative observation and analysis. Clifford Geertz's work (1973) provided both models of case studies and an excellent rationale for the methodology, as did Guba's monograph on naturalistic inquiry (1978). Additional pointers on methodology were gained from Wolf and Tymitz (1978) and Denny (1979).

Site Selection

The Dean's Grant Projects (DGPs) which, in 1979-80, had been funded for at least two years were separated first according to the six geographical regions used by the National Support Systems Project (the technical assistance network at the University of Minnesota supporting the DGPs), and then divided into two categories: "Large/Research" and "Small/Primarily Teacher-Training Institutions." A random number table was used to select 10 sites that appropriately represented the proportion of grants in each category; an alternative list of sites also was prepared in the event access to any site in the first group was difficult. The final sample of 10 DGP sites equitably represented the grant awards by size and mission of the institution, geographical region, and funding level.

Site Visit Procedures

The first contact with each site was a telephone call to the dean. Using a master script for consistency, the caller outlined the purposes of the study, the obligations of the dean, should he[2] choose to participate, confidentiality issues, and the next steps in facilitating the visit. In each case the dean welcomed the study. He was then asked to select one or more contact persons to manage the details of the site visit.

Prior to the visits, the deans and contact persons were asked to provide information that would add depth to our interviews. Course descriptions, descriptions of the education unit, and information related to the DGP were especially useful; so too were institutional catalogs and information on the area in which the institution was located. The contact persons were asked to schedule interviews with appropriate personnel associated with the grant, such as the dean, project coordinator, and faculty members, some who were very active in the DGP program and some who were not so active.

Site visit packets were prepared. Each consisted of documents, checklists, and focused interview protocols. They were intended to insure consis-

[2]All the deans in the sample happened to be male.

tency, authenticity, and confidentiality among the three researchers. (An interview protocol is shown in the Appendix.) Each site visit consisted of interviews with the dean and appropriate DGP personnel and faculty members over a period of 2 days. About 100 persons (12 deans, 9 project coordinators, and 75 faculty members) were interviewed at the 10 sites.

Each interviewer was responsible for follow-up activities, thank you letters, and writing up field notes from the interview protocols.

Data Compilation

The field notes and case studies were written up in the same general format to simplify content analysis. When all visits were completed, the research team met for a preliminary analysis of the data. General lists of behavior that could be identified as supportive or nonsupportive were compiled. In all, over 250 separate supportive and less than 30 nonsupportive behaviors were identified. The items on each list were combined and regrouped several times according to the various concepts and patterns that emerged from the interviewers' observations and the review of literature on change processes and roles of administrators in higher education. The roles and behaviors described in the findings and conclusions section derive from this process.

Field notes from the interview protocols and background information, such as college catalogs and program descriptions, were used to write up the seven case studies that follow this section. They illustrate the interaction of personality, strategy, and environment at selected projects.

MINI-CASE STUDIES

1. Finding a Benign Behaviorist

General Context

This middle-sized university was described by one faculty member as "the place students go while they wait to get admitted to an Ivy League school." Located in a largely rural state, the small town atmosphere is evident at once. The cab driver from the airport told me there are more cows than people in this state. Everywhere there is a sense of tradition and history, from the motel, a modern replica of a farm that stood on the site 200 years ago, to the ivy-covered walls on the campus.

The University enrolls about 7800 undergraduates in 10 academic divisions. The College of Education and Social Services has attracted 850 undergraduates and about 400 graduates who work toward certification and master's degrees.

Tradition and conservatism, as well as a strong sense of independence are essential factors in understanding this university, and the role the Dean's Grant plays within the education unit which was reorganized some years ago. The College of Education was combined with the Social Services Department, which consists of social work and human services. Departmental reorganization occurred at the same time. The Dean described the reorganization as a "resource maximizer" and a response to declining enrollment problems. The social-service focus is intended to develop new curricular emphases for education and to respond to emerging trends in the professions. It was planned to "bring governance closer to decision making."

The Dean

Dean C. has been at this campus for almost two years. This is his first deanship. His background is in Policy Studies and Philosophy, most recently at a large midwestern university where he was department chair. He was nominated for this deanship. Although he never set out to be a dean, he finds the position rewarding and challenging.

When asked about his personal views on leadership, Dean C. verbalized much of what others have observed him to do. He has a strong interest in long-range policy and in a philosophy of education in keeping with his training in these areas. Generally, Dean C. feels that he operates most effectively through his Associate Dean and department chairpersons. He wants the latter to make decisions but he demands supporting documentation and accountability. Communication occurs through general faculty meetings and faculty memos, and more regularly through bi-weekly Dean's Council meetings with the Associate Dean and department chairpersons.

When asked to discuss the effect of laws like Public Law 94-142, Dean C.

described the significance of the law and its mandates. For his university, he translates the mandates into an emphasis on service, along with research and scholarship. He described Public Law 94-142 as a "righteous" mandate--an extension of other civil rights legislation. The policy it advances may be interpreted broadly; in fact, he mentioned the impact of the legislation on the new Social Services component of his College.

Dean C. described the challenges he finds in resolving conflicts. He particularly described the "behaviorist or humanist" dichotomy in his College. He sees his role as the "smoother" of these conflicts. When he referred to the Dean's Grant he spoke of a "benign behaviorist" approach as optimal for making changes.

Education Unit

Dean C. took reorganization as his first task upon becoming Dean two years ago. Existing departments and faculties were reorganized and relocated to fit the new scheme. Dean C. took advantage of his "honeymoon" status as new dean to create a structure that would be responsive to changing enrollment patterns. The new structure makes conceptual sense although long-established departments were often split.

A significant division exists in the faculty. Several faculty members as well as the Dean saw the behaviorist vs. humanist dichotomy as a major source of controversy. In the special education department, which had high levels of federal grant funds, one program in particular received a great deal of national visibility for its behavioral approach to teacher preparation. The departmental reorganization split the special education contingent. The behaviorist vs. humanist division was mentioned by several individuals as an example of a conflict needing resolution, however.

A Dean's Grant had been awarded to the previous dean but the project had not been successful. Several faculty members stressed the lack of involvement in the past effort, which had been coordinated by a Dean's assistant. Primarily they stressed "lots of waste," and the fact that the coordinator of the project did most of the planning. An existing DGP advisory council did not really "counsel"; it was more symbolic than useful. The major activity of this past project was faculty awareness, conducted primarily through a large-scale conference that attracted national attendance but not much local support.

The Dean's Grant Project

The difference between behaviorists and humanists over the previous project has direct implications for the present DGP which attempts to carry out curricular change within departments. The current DGP is coordinated primarily by a master's level student, P., with close cooperation from the Associate Dean. P. was consistently given outstanding ratings by all

informants. An analysis of the responses sheds light on the sort of personality and actions that are perceived as successful in this situation.

P. describes herself as self-motivated and not afraid to build first-name relations with the Dean and faculty members. She has many concerns with mainstreaming after several years as a resource teacher in a neighboring state. Currently she is enrolled in the master's degree program in special education and took a graduate assistantship; it led to her role as DGP coordinator. P. strongly expresses the idea that the DGP should offer what the faculty wants. She said, "I work differently with every person and every department; they should be able to request the resources they want." Departments are approached according to two criteria: need and openness to change.

P. characterizes what Dean C. meant by "benign behaviorist." He described her role as "a coordinator of efforts--she provides services to departments and each department produces a set of outcomes, and P. coordinates that."

P. tries not to push special education techniques, preferring to talk informally with faculty members in all departments. She has attempted to learn the politics quickly, to not be intimidated by faculty rank, and to support and reinforce faculty efforts. Most department chairs recognize that P. is there to support them and to see that their objectives are being met, but, for the most part, they set the specific objectives for their departments. The objectives vary. For instance, the Health and PE unit has chosen to order materials such as resource teaching units and "canned" adaptive PE programs. The Administrative and Counseling department is less involved at present, although a videotape is in production for the use of counselors and administrators who must work with handicapped students. In this department, P. and the chairperson make sure that the DGP is mentioned at faculty meetings.

The primary effect of the DGP at this University is felt in the teacher-training department where the chairperson characterized P. as "highly competent and sensitive to our needs and abilities." He and P. hold weekly communication meetings and he facilitates her presentations at faculty meetings. Intervention is primarily in the form of teaching modules presented by P. in elementary and secondary courses.

The role that P. plays is important to the success of this project. Her rating as a competent, credible administrator is universally agreed upon by both faculty members and the Dean. Her role as coordinator is crucial to the success this DGP has had.

Another person rated as crucial to the success of the DGP is the Dean. Every respondent rated his advocacy and support as imperative for a project like this one.

Initiation/Mobilization

Dean C. began his job as dean with the knowledge that the previous project had failed. An attempt at consciousness raising and awareness building had not worked as planned. Several faculty members (i.e., a special education researcher and the Associate Dean) felt that a new project would be worthwhile. Dean C. came on board with an application for a DGP that was virtually complete. As expected by the faculty, he approved the submission of this proposal. When the proposal was turned down, he called BEH, found out why, and facilitated changes in the proposal that resulted in subsequent funding. Among the changes he suggested were the following:

1. Departmental involvement in objective setting. (In keeping with new organizational structure.)
2. Emphasis on implementation of modules rather than faculty awareness.
3. A new focus on curriculum changes through competency-based, measurable instruction.

At this initiation stage, Dean C. appointed an Associate Dean to monitor the project's planning and progress, and to report to him; and he chose P. as coordinator--"an unanticipated mechanism for success." P. turned out to have the right combination of relaxed expertise to suit the situation. Subsequently, Dean C. showed his support in the following ways:

1. He assigned P. to an office adjoining his and the Associate Dean's.
2. He wrote several memos to the faculty discussing the righteousness of Public Law 94-142 and the need for this sort of effort.
3. He broached the topic of Dean's Grants at a general faculty meeting and called for a faculty vote of support and involvement.
4. He listed project activities as number 2 of 17 College priorities.
5. He met weekly with department chairs and other key actors to introduce P. and legitimate her actions in his behalf.
6. With the Associate Dean, he edited and synthesized grant components submitted by individual departments.

Using memos and faculty meetings, Dean C. made it clear to faculty members that the core of the College would be affected by the DGP. The message he transmitted was that the DGP was unique and its goals affect all professional training across the board. Two other messages from him were reported by almost every respondent:

1. The Dean valued this effort and expected accountable results, and
2. P. was acting for him; although she was a graduate student, her actions in his behalf were to be respected.

A major activity during early stages was a faculty retreat at which a primary focus was on the DGP. The organization of this retreat followed the overall leadership style favored by the Dean. He provided the sense of

mission, philosophy, and purpose, and then introduced the Associate Dean and P. as primary DGP contacts. The latter two facilitated information sharing in smaller department groups.

Other facilitating actions by the Dean at this stage were as follows:

1. He continued to support the notion of "populist decision making," that is, each department would select its goals and objectives but would be accountable to the Dean.
2. Both the Dean and Associate Dean kept regular and visible communication links with P. She and the Associate Dean met for at least an hour a week at this stage to solve problems and brainstorm; the Associate Dean kept Dean C. informed of their ideas.
3. Faculty members reported tangible support from the Dean in the form of money for faculty retreats and resource materials.
4. Beginning at this stage, two-way communication sharing was established between P. and the Associate Dean. She filters information about the project to him and he, in turn, collects information on mainstreaming for her from the conferences he attends. An example of their interchange was reported by P.: "He asks what about such and such department." He directs me by saying, "Well, what about...." This sort of behind-the-scenes coaching is rated as essential by P., enabling her to work out strategies of intervention.

Institutionalization

Because this particular project was finishing its first year of funding at the time of the study, this section is brief. The feeling of most respondents, however, was that it is too early for the institutionalization of this project's objectives. A few faculty members discussed leftovers from the old grant, which had been institutionalized mainly in the form of resource materials, films, and library acquisitions.

2. Fighting Ivy-Covered Traditions

General Context

The university had its beginnings 50 years ago as a division of a larger university. Since then it has grown quickly and now serves a population of about 15,000 students, mostly local residents. The University offers undergraduate and graduate programs in eight schools, including a school of education. The latter has a faculty of 101 members, offers about 10 degree programs in education and related services, including special education, early childhood education, elementary and secondary education, and administrative

and counselor training programs.

The university and the school of education have had major organization problems in the past due to a number of factors. Declining enrollments in education have resulted in dramatic student and programmatic cuts as programs are switched and traded between local universities because of federal regulations. For the past four years the school of education has had over a 10% yearly drop in student enrollment because several undergraduate programs were relocated at another university. An additional problem with stability occurred because of a number of transitions in leadership. Over the past six years the school of education has had either an acting dean or a dean who was chronically ill and unable to perform aggressively to save programs. Dean P. took over almost two years ago.

The Dean

Dean P. refers to himself as a problem solver. He relishes the opportunity to step in and save a program. A graduate of a prestigious university, since receiving his degree he has held several "hatchetman and problem solver" positions, as he puts it, both in the federal government and at other higher education institutions. He accepted the present position, knowing that it would offer the chance to troubleshoot and save a rapidly declining program.

Dean P. portrays this University as a "growing, expanding and future-looking kind of place." He is viewed by all as an action-type person. He and his colleagues described how he began the change process in the school of education almost 2 years ago which now has been mostly carried out. The plan began with the new Dean's calling several all-faculty meetings at which members were asked to identify goals and then to give them priorities. On the basis of the resulting list of major goals, several task forces were organized to examine priorities and possible solutions. This process indicated the sort of leadership that Dean P. values. He said, "You can't manage by fiat--you've got to get others involved." He went on to describe his view of the dean's role by saying, "My job is to oversee, and to redirect if needed. I feel that committees must clearly establish time-bound and measurable objectives that fit the institutional goal."

Education Unit

As a result of the Master Plan and reorganization, a new sense of purpose and leadership emerged in the school which contrasts with the attitudes of the past 6 years. The faculty is stable, over 60% are tenured, and many more are on tenure tracks. Most faculty members could discuss the new mission of the school of education in a knowledgeable manner. The master plan called for several changes:

1. The education school is expanding its focus to a human services orientation that will attract a new sort of student and create a less traditional

education unit. In the words of the Master Plan, "the whole complexion of education is changing. Educators reflect the current and future expectations of society. Since the demand for teachers is decreasing we must develop needed services, and expand our existing services to a broader scope of education related endeavors."

2. The school of education is making a concerted effort to become an "urban education" center, specializing in programs specific to this market and nontraditional sort of student. An example of a change in this area is the newly organized evening advising program.

3. Collaboration with other universities, community colleges and other community agencies is a priority.

A continuing impression of the education school is of purpose and activity under more than the usual pressures. There are significant efforts to reorganize, stop the declining enrollment, attract new and nontraditional students, and develop a widened sense of community involvement.

The Dean's Grant Project

The proposal for the present DGP already had been submitted when Dean P. arrived at this University. Some negotiations took place between the Dean and project director at that time, and the funding agency, although the Dean played a minor role during this phase. As mentioned before, he saw his task as facilitating major change in the school of education. The DGP was aimed at the faculty during its first year; thus it meshed nicely with the already planned reorganization. Both the Dean and project coordinator spoke of a sense of continuous movement, with programs being assessed continuously to keep up with on-going change. They viewed this effort as cooperative. Up to the time of the study, most activities were focused on faculty development through a series of inservice seminars, workshops, and other offerings.

Initiation/Mobilization

The Dean described his role at the beginning stage of the project as that of assistant: assisting with the budget negotiations, assisting with rewriting and redoing a proposal which he felt was less than measurable, and acting as editorial assistant to proposed action plans to insure the inclusion of goals, objectives, strategies, and timelines that could be achieved. He described his role as "a very important one at this stage--to establish time-bound and reasonable objectives that fit the institutional goal." Dean P. has a clear concept of long-term change. He views the DGP as one of a number of factors that are causing the faculty members in the school of education to change.

Dean P described himself as a facilitator who "works through others, and keeps them on task," a role that signifies behind-the-scenes management and limited direct contact with faculty members. The project coordinator deals

directly with faculty members and gets a great deal of participation from them. The coordinator, Dr. K., is established as credible and hard working. She also has a reputation for strong-willed demands on others. She offers legitimate assistance to faculty members, even running numerous workshops for student teachers on her own time. The coordinator of student teachers told me of the value of these workshops because special education courses are a marketable commodity for new teachers.

One faculty member described his view of the reason the DGP has been successful. He said, "I have been around here for 13 years. We seem to go for years and do not have workshops. The reason DGP workshops are successful is due to three things: faculty interest; the dedication and enthusiasm of the coordinator; and the involvement of the dean." Another faculty member voiced the same thought when he said, "What makes people attend the workshops? Things that are mandated do not turn me on, but the idea that there is commitment on the part of the coordinator and Dean, that is what makes people join up."

On the Dean's commitment at this stage I was told, "I do not know what the Dean's role has been--he has not attended planning sessions--but I have the feeling that planning would not have happened without his support. This level of involvement with DGP planning parallels the reorganization task force meetings, where the Dean chaired the meetings for a while but soon passed the responsibility to committee members." Another faculty member said, speaking generally about the Dean's role, "I'm not sure that I have a grip on the Dean's impact--but then I live a long way back from the road (I'm out of touch). I think he makes decisions, and once the decision is made it is a firm one."

Dr. K. gave me her opinions of what Dean P. should and did offer at this early stage. She began by describing the climate which was ripe for change, and Dean P.'s role in facilitating that change by forming the Master Plan concept. There was much movement and action during this time, she said. Dr. K. was concerned that Dean P. did not understand the nature of the DGP at the beginning. He did not see the nature of what the grant tried to achieve. She said that the Dean's role is a vital one, that he should familiarize himself with DGP goals and objectives. Her view is that if people see that this is something that the Dean is doing, they want to join up too. "The Dean must show his commitment," she concluded, "by supporting project activities, communicating and referring to project activities, and making presentations about the DGPs."

Activities

As inservice activities were planned and conferences and workshops were scheduled, an example of a difference in communication between the Dean and project coordinator took place. The DGP was planning a third all-day

Saturday conference and, coincidentally, on the same day as another education conference. The Dean suggested that Dr. K. try a new strategy for her inservice program: lunch time seminars instead of all-day conferences. He reported that he was concerned about "over-conferencing the faculty."

Following the Dean's suggestion, Dr. K. planned a series of four complimentary lunch seminars in the Dean's meeting room. The faculty members were randomly assigned to one of the four seminars and personal invitations were extended. A phone call from Dr. K. followed the written invitation. Each of the four seminars achieved 70% to 80% attendance. Dr. K. personally picked up the Dean and his assistant at their offices to insure their attendance at the seminar to which they were invited.

Dr. K.'s strategy appears to be working. The Dean supports the program, which reflects her great creative efforts. For instance, she reported saying to the Dean, "Shall I make your reservations for the National Dean's Grant Conference, or will you make your own?" She feels that his bodily presence is essential at DGP events.

Dean P. described his activities during this stage of the project. He saw himself as a focuser: suggesting ways that activities could be better integrated into other change strategies. For instance, he suggested coordinating inservice with a previously planned faculty retreat instead of planning a number of separate meetings. He views his task of refocusing and redirecting the DGP as most important because it confirms the Master Plan goals and is aimed at multicultural and exceptional audiences. He clearly hopes to integrate the project goals into the larger change strategy in the school of education. He said, "Big, full-day meetings seem like faddish and 'add on' activities; when the effort is integrated then the overall mission is served. I want to do it without a mandate from above, to make sure change is integrated, I constantly preach 'school first, department second'."

Dean P. makes himself available for planning and problem resolution, although he reported having a "busy, busy, schedule." He feels he has exemplified support and interest in the DGP by making it visible to chairpersons who serve on the Dean's cabinet. He has made sure that the Master Plan is clear on DGP goals.

Institutionalization

The DGP primarily focuses on faculty awareness activities although, recently, there has been a concerted effort to integrate the activities with on-going school-of-education events. When asked about institutionalization, the Dean commented, "We would be successful at institutionalization if a significant number (50%) of faculty would incorporate DGP notions into their coursework, if we change course syllabi next year, and if the students we are training are able to incorporate notions of P.L. 94-142 into their courses. I suppose the most noticeable institutionalized aspect of handicapped

awareness is the remodeling because of Section 504 regulations--ramps, new drinking fountains and parking places. We also have a resource lending library of special education materials, but neither of these things is due specifically to the DGP."

3. Inservice for an Advocate

General Context

The University is the second largest branch in a northwestern state system of education. It has a 100-year history, beginning as a religious normal school specializing in teacher training. Since then the teacher-training unit has diminished in stature. With declining enrollment problems, and recent college reorganization, the Education Department became one of several units in the School of Social Professions that also includes Business Administration, Criminal Justice, Health Sciences, a Real Estate minor, and Public Administration.

The students are mainly commuters. The University is located in the suburbs of a large industrial city in a populous state. Numerous private and state universities are within easy range. The density of these universities has created problems of duplication of services that limit program-expansion options.

The Dean

Two deans were interviewed at this site. The first, Dean A., had been instrumental in getting the DGP funded. He has been an advocate of handicapped people's rights at state levels for the past five years, since the project was funded. Dean A. described to me how his DGP was funded. He saw that teachers who were equipped to carry out the principles of Public Law 94-142 had a marketable skill in a shrinking job market. He said, "Because of Dr. E. (a faculty member) and her dynamic support, and the new grant funding, I became an advocate of handicapped rights at the state level. In fact, I chair a committee on handicap rights and was honored by the Association of Retarded Citizens."

For the past 2 years, since a reorganization, Dean P. has been the head of the School of Social Professions. He was trained by Dean A. during a six-month transition period when they shared an office. Dean P. has not had as much participation in the DGP as Dean A., nevertheless both have similar career paths and express similar leadership styles. Both had some public school teaching experience, quickly followed by the move to administration. Dean A. spent several years as a public school principal. Both have held a series of administrative posts at colleges and universities. Dean A. has

been in the local area for many years, being campus school principal, and is involved in local politics. Dean P. on the other hand, came from outside the University and community to this deanship. His background and most recent experience was in health administration. He is regarded as competent, fair, and a good dean but he does not have that same identification with education that Dean A. has, probably, appropriately, because the education department is declining and is currently organized within a Social Professions College.

Both deans hold similar views on leadership. They agree that the dean's role is to keep the faculty focused on the university mission. They agree that deans work through others. In this setting, the Dean holds weekly meetings with department chairs who funnel communications to faculty members. The deans, department chairs, and faculty members I interviewed all understood the communication channels; thus a faculty member usually has little direct contact with the Dean but a great deal of indirect contact through others.

Both deans stated that their task was to find topnotch people--"people on the same wave length"--and then give them responsibility. Deans at this university try to "clearly make their position known without appearing to own the department."

The Education Unit

Dean P., the incumbent, was fascinated with the "Dean's role in a time of change," which he portrayed as difficult but essential. The School of Social Professions has grown to be the largest academic school on campus whereas the Education Unit is quickly shrinking. This is a time of budget cuts, but Dean P. views the process as a constructive one if time is made to plan. Education is overstaffed right now, he said, and it is a time to reorganize program priorities. Currently there are 75 unfilled positions at this university. The central administration has established priorities for them, and one education position--special education learning specialist (associated with the Dean's Grant)--is in the top 12. The emphasis is changing, reported Dean P., a view that was repeated by Dr. D., the DGP coordinator. The emphasis in education is quickly expanding to reach an interdisciplinary, adult audience. Credit hours can be generated by training paraprofessionals, social workers, nurses, and institutional aides, and creating a major area of training in handicapped education. A new program offers education preparation with an emphasis on handicapped education to non-education students.

In sum, although the education department is rapidly shrinking in enrollment and faculty, the areas that stress interdisciplinary training and preparation for serving handicapped students are seen as priorities, and they are attracting growing numbers of students from across the campus.

The Dean's Grant Project

Two faculty members are associated with the DGP. Both have backgrounds

in educational psychology with an interest in special education. Because there was no special education department at this university (it would duplicate offerings at nearby universities) when the DGP was funded, these two individuals were moved into the education department to administer the grant. Dr. E. was instrumental in writing the grant proposal, although she did not want to administer it; Dr. J. manages day-to-day operations. In most interviews, with faculty members, these two individuals were viewed as instrumental in the DGP's success.

The DGP is in its last year of funding. Both Deans plus the project coordinator reported that they are not going to reapply for funding because, as [illegible] it, "We have achieved what we intended to do--our grant has been institutionalized." One of the first things Dean A. said was, "We would never have applied in the first place if we didn't intend to institutionalize our changes." Dean P. iterated the point: "Institutionalization is essential, it is the critical element in the grant." Clearly, the building in and ownership of the changes made are valued. What was institutionalized? The main focus of this project throughout its five years has been support and assistance to education faculty members in the form of a resources library, inservice offerings, and one-to-one assistance in the development of competencies related to teaching handicapped students.

DGP activities included early awareness-raising seminars; the handicap simulations at the seminars were well-remembered by faculty members. One participant recalled the handicap simulation he participated in five years ago. Although he is not now active in the DGP, he said, "If they can do it, more power to them." He portrayed the faculty as not overly resistant to the project because Drs. J. and E. worked so hard and the Dean supports them.

Several faculty members reported an increased awareness of the "need to look for special kids in regular placements." One secondary-level science professor put it nicely: "The DGP has been stimulating--it has forced me to think about other ideas. For the amount of money expended it has caused me to do some things I wouldn't have done before. I like the systematic presentation of information used in the workshops."

Dr. J. discussed his current view of DGP efforts. "Right now we have moved from awareness raising to curriculum rewrites. Our goal is to highlight existing talents within existing faculty members. First we want to identify what the faculty is already doing. This documentation is the least exciting part of the job, but our actions must be documented for the Dean."

Initiation/Mobilization

The original letter about the Dean's Grant Program was sent to special educators in 1974, to be hand delivered to Deans. Given that there was no special education department at this university, the notification of possible grants necessarily arrived by a circuitous route. It was forwarded to

Dean A. by a professor in the Physical Education Department who was interested in adaptive P.E. for handicapped persons. Dean A. recognized the potential of this sort of funding as in keeping with the view of the institutional mission. He felt that the grant gave the effort a halo visibility which, when related to a core of involved experts, would enable change to take place more easily. The International Special Olympics was scheduled to be held on campus, attracting 8000 handicapped individuals, and he felt that the institution was ready. Dean A.'s next action was to ask Dr. E. if she wanted to write the grant proposal. As she put it, "Dean A. called and asked if I would do the writing, probably because of my activity in the Ed. Psych. Department with handicapped individuals. When the project was funded, Dean A. moved me to the education department along with Dr. J., who had agreed to manage the DGP." Dr. E. described something else she did at this beginning stage that had long-term affects on the Dean. One of the project's first activities was the formation of an advisory committee of special educators from the community. Dr. E. made sure that Dean A. attended all the meetings. She realized that if Dean A. could "learn the special education language" it would be advantageous to them all. As it happened, in her words, "The DGP educated the Dean at a perfect time for his career at state levels." Dr. E. facilitated Dean A.'s attendance at national special education conferences, and she introduced him to key figures in the newly formed DGP network. All these actions had the desired effect: Dean A. developed into a knowledgeable, verbal, and visible supporter of DGPs and of the rights of handicapped persons in general.

The support became visible to faculty members in several ways. At a general faculty meeting Dean A. spoke of his personal commitment to mainstreaming and of the pragmatic benefits of more marketable teachers--those who were prepared to work with handicapped individuals--in a rapidly diminishing job market. Several faculty members reported "knowing about the DGP forever." One remembers that Dean A. and Dr. J. talked about it at a faculty meeting. Dean A. said, "We will support this effort," and then turned the meeting over to Dr. J. Faculty members reported several instances of informal conversations with Dean A. One professor who had known the Dean from the campus school days remembered their driving to a conference together, where the topic of conversation was the potential of the DGP. Another long-time friend remembered hallway and restroom conversations to the same effect. Yet another faculty member remarked that the Dean was attending "an awful lot of special education conferences at this early period."

In Dean A.'s own words, he was "making his position known without appearing to run the department." His position on the DGP was clear to all. He both valued the concept of mainstreaming and was interested enough to learn new language and skills. The model he set was clear to everyone.

Dr. J., who manages much of the day-to-day grant activities, provided more information on Dean A.'s support at the early stages. He described the

physical location of the DGP office (right across the hall from the Dean's). This proximity is useful, he said, "because we can drop in on each other easily, and we see each other coming and going." Dr. J. and the Dean's relation circumvents the usual channels through department chairmen in that Dr. J. reports directly to the Dean.

Dr. J. went on to say that little things make a big difference in showing support. For instance, he has access to both the Dean's secretary and the Dean's auditron key for the Xerox machine. Apparently, these items do matter because another faculty member also mentioned use of the auditron key, as well as office location, floor space, and the presence and absence of windows as signs of the Dean's support. Furthermore, Dean A. used his "clout" at departmental meetings--speaking to chairpersons--when Dr. J. needed help to accomplish a task.

Project Activities

As the project purpose began to affect the faculty, the Dean's support continued, but his active involvement in DGP activities diminished as he became more involved in state committee work. A procedure was set up to get the Dean's signature on DGP documents when he was away from the office. Even at this stage, Dr. J. reported, he could "get almost everything he wanted for the project," including a full-time secretary, instead of the half-time one the grant allowed.

Project activities at this stage were planned and carried out by Drs. J. and E., with on-going communication with the Dean. This approach is in keeping with Dean A.'s view of leadership: find top people and then let them do the job.

The strong support offered by Dean A. at the beginning stages of the DGP, which was observed by all the respondents, was apparently enough to maintain the project's effectiveness when the support was combined with the efficiency of and hard work by the coordinators. Most faculty members reported that Dean A. was less visible in all aspects of his role at the time I interviewed them. This was perceived as the beginning of the transition to a new dean.

Institutionalization

Project personnel placed great value on institutionalization of the changes produced by their activities, faculty awareness, an adapted curriculum that reflects mainstreaming competencies, and heightened awareness of mainstreaming and the handicapped people on the campus. They valued institutionalization so highly that they chose not to apply for additional funding. Both deans as well as the DGP staff spoke of the same general institutional goals, a sign of good communication among them. The focus on the institution's long-range goals and the good communication systems were rated as crucial by both deans. It appears that their values have been passed on and are

being practiced.

4. Direct and Indirect Persuasion

General Context

This large commuter University is located in a middle-sized city and enrolls about 20,000 students in a number of professional training colleges. The college of education certifies students in six areas, including special education. Many courses are taught at night to serve the large population of working students. This University trains doctoral students in education, although the emphasis is on practice rather than research.

The Dean

There is a strong sense on this campus of old-fashioned and traditional values of politeness, courtesy, protection of the "weaker sex," and classical values in education. The Dean typified, in fact embodied, this sense. Throughout our conversation he cited Greek and Roman literature as well as Thomas Jefferson and Harry Truman.

In discussing the DGP he spoke of the simplicity, profundity, and arrogance of putting the "Dean" in "Dean's Grant Projects." The notion of dean as curricular change agent struck him as workable.

Dean R. has a strong administrative style, according to almost every report. He speaks directly to faculty members through regular memoranda. These memos usually are worded in a positive style, but they make direct requests for better attendance at DGP seminars or state his "disappointment with the lack of action with the Dean's Grant Project." Members of the faculty report having a clear view of the Dean's goals regarding the DGP.

Dean R. sends notes to faculty members and reinforces them in person for publications and other achievements. Faculty members reported that although he notices hard work, he also expects a great deal of work. The Dean was described by others as "progressive, and a man with vision," and as having a notion that the DGP concept needed to be done." Another said, "In things he feels strongly about, Dean R. is a directive leader, but he is also respected as a credible scholar." Of himself, the Dean said, "If I'm going to be the project director, I must be free to exercise preogatives. If I saw a conflict I would use the power of my office in the betterment of the College."

Education Unit

The education unit is fairly stable. It has had few staff changes; the "new faculty member" I interviewed had been there five years. The College is administratively organized around the Dean and several associate deans who work through department chairs. Decisions are made by committee action.

The Dean's Grant Project

The project has a leadership team that represents all college departments. The team is managed and the project is coordinated by Dr. B. He is described as "the mouth piece of the Dean"; it is clearly understood by all that he speaks for Dean R. in DGP matters. Dr. B. has numerous other responsibilities, and he is assisted by a core of able and hard-working graduate students. The DGP management team made some commonly agreed upon points: (a) Dr. B. is extremely competent and hard-working and truly has the Dean's ear. (b) There is resistance, much of it passive, by faculty members to the sort of curricular change proposed by the DGP. (c) Much of the departmental change had been accomplished single handedly by management-team members.

The DGP at this University was previously coordinated by a special educator but during the past year the Dean decided to assign project responsibility to Dr. B. to take advantage of the "symbolism of his office." Dean R. and Dr. B. assigned faculty members to the management team.

Initiation/Mobilization

Dean R. was very much involved in writing the grant proposal. He was aware of Public Law 94-142 before notice of the grant was received and had been asked by a BEH official and another dean to help get other institutions to participate in the Dean's Grant program. During the same period, the chair of the special education department was active in BEH funding circles and he mentioned the idea of "dean's involvement." According to Dean R., several people helped with the proposal writing and the DGP was eventually funded with the special education professor as coordinator. Early plans included awareness activities and some public school contacts. Dean R. attempted to build interest in the DGP by sponsoring a competition with a neighboring university to attend a workshop on Public Law 94-142.

Other early activities were brown-bag seminars to increase faculty awareness (attendance was very poor at those early sessions) and a needs assessment conducted among faculty members. However, Dr. B., the new coordinator, said, "The dean left some things to be done by the coordinator and they weren't done, so the dean made a change."

Project Activities

The first year began with expressed interest from the Dean's office and a newly formed DGP management team composed of the coordinator, departmental representatives, and doctoral candidates. The interest of Dr. B. and his high activity level are supported by Dean R. through regular committee reports on the Dean's Grant Project and the widely read "Dean's Memos." Activities at this stage included on-going brown-bag seminars, with "less than wonderful attendance," and a try at inserting competencies related to handicapped students into the curriculum. Things did not appear to be going well. Several

leadership team members were unhappy because they were not getting release time or pay for all the hours they spent on project activities. One told me that he was doing all the work himself in the department, and the faculty just wouldn't participate. Two individuals expressed strong reservations about the DGP concept; one said that the idea was worthless, the other had reservations because of a faculty member who had been given released time for participating in the project. The reservation was expressed as follows, "You just can't replace a faculty member like D.G. with just enough money for one course."

Another problem that emerged during this interview was confirmed by other respondents. At this University there seems to be a sense of crossed purposes. For instance, after spending hours inserting special education competencies into existing courses, the faculty learned that the decision had been made to add on a special education course for all certification students to take. Persons who told me of this "decision from above" were disgruntled that their efforts had been so quickly negated. Regarding the DGP, informants said, "There's not a question in anyone's mind that it's his [the Dean's] grant. He's delegated responsibility to Dr. B., who keeps the ducks in a row, but without the Dean's support, interest, and enthusiasm, nothing would happen."

5. A Model of Active and Informed Participation

General Context

The institution is a large, land grant college in a city of about 75,000 people that is located in a rural area. The College does not have a program in elementary education nor a faculty or degree program in special education. Currently there are 85 teaching and 40 research faculty members in the areas of secondary and vocational education.

The Dean's Grant Project is lodged in the Office of the Dean and he, along with two or three other faculty members, originated the proposal. With the project coordinator he manages the day-to-day operations of the DGP. It is in its third year. A number of people in various departments play part-time coordinator roles. It has two major goals: (a) to obtain money for staff development; (b) as a result of staff development, teachers in both the regular teacher education and vocational education programs are expected to adopt a new set of competencies that will make their graduates more effective in working with handicapped students.

The DGP appears to be going very well. Morale is high and there is little resistance. The Dean is actively involved in all aspects of project management and activities. Faculty members are very proud of their progress and growth in all the programs. They have what they think is a distinguished

faculty that is hard working and receptive to building strong programs.

The Dean

The Dean is a professional teacher educator. Initially, he was a teacher in the public schools and then an administrator. He came here 11 years ago as a department head and moved on to administrative assistant, to administrator, and then to Vice President of the College. Six years ago he was appointed Dean of the new College of Professional Studies. In his early 50s, he is soft-spoken and quite impressive in his understanding of educational issues and the mission of universities.

The Dean's Grant Project

The Dean first heard about the possibilities of getting a Dean's Grant from another dean. He came back to his office, gathered the associate dean and two key department chairs, and they wrote a proposal. It was rejected. He said that the motivations for writing the proposal were (a) he was attracted by the opportunity of getting professional development money (at that time the only money available for faculty development), and (b) he and his colleagues knew that they were going to have problems with trying to incorporate in courses the principles of Public Law 94-142. They had been in the inservice business of trying to provide skills and competencies for teachers to work with handicapped kids, particularly in the vocational area, since 1975. They were not happy with their efforts and the Dean saw that they needed to address this issue.

Initiation/Mobilization

Dean B. was instrumental in initiating discussions and was on the team of four who wrote the proposal. The DGP coordinator, a recently graduated doctoral student, was working out of the Dean's office at that time. She helped to get suggestions from faculty members although Dean B. was very active, even to putting words on paper himself. He had some ideas for change. (a) He wanted a project that would allow monies for faculty development and (b) he thought that the resulting curricular revision should be integrated in nature. In the beginning there was no talk of adding new courses because of the feeling that there should be an integrated theory of curriculum for preparing students to teach handicapped children. The initial proposal emphasized evaluation, that if this project were to institutionalize new sets of ideas and strategies for training teachers to work with handicapped children then careful evaluation of both the processes and the results of the change effort was needed. Dean B. tried to influence others on the merits of his idea and he felt that he had done so successfully.

Project Activities

Dean B. held a series of meetings with the assistant director and various department chairpersons throughout the college to develop a management plan. He said he tried to attend all the sessions during that period. He wanted the faculty to know that he was excited about the DGP and that he expected something to happen. When management plans were not drawn up to his specifications, he helped to develop the management system to make sure that the DGP would be successful and that whatever was accomplished would be institutionalized. Dean B. found that they would have to move slowly if they were to attract positive responses. The strategy at this time was to focus on key persons in each department and to work through the informal power structure to gain awareness and ultimate success.

Another strategy was to hire faculty members in different departments to develop modules to use in various courses during the year. These modules illustrate techniques to integrate handicapped students into regular activities. Dean B. volunteered his time to participate in the videotaping; he demonstrated successful integration techniques. He did so to serve as a model of support for DGP activities. From his report, it was a successful tactic. Dean B. believes strongly in the symbolism of his participation as a way of showing support for the project. Another activity he participated in was spending a day in a wheelchair to test building accessibility on campus. Thus he provided a highly visible symbol of attention to the needs of handicapped persons.

Institutionalization

Dean B. already is starting to think about ways in which fiscal and staff support can accomplish the new goals. He thinks that, ultimately, difficult personnel decisions will have to be made to commit resources to the goals that are basic to the project.

The coordinator's role in this DGP seems to have two facets. (a) She coordinates the day-to-day activities, such as setting up meetings, getting people to participate, writing memos, Xeroxing materials, putting together bibliographies, and so on. She meets with the Dean once a week, updates him on what has gone on, and explains where his support is needed. He goes over her progress and makes suggestions on what should be done. (b) Because there is no special education department, she provides special education expertise. She is the only faculty member who has knowledge of special education and so she serves as a technical expert to various persons and departments when they work on modules and try to revise programs.

6. Reaching Out to Other Professionals

General Context

This comprehensive state college is located in the largest city of a western state. It has an enrollment of 3400 students. The college offers academic programs in general education, liberal arts, and the sciences, undergraduate and graduate teacher education, and professional vocational education.

The School of Education has four major units; it employs about 50 full-time faculty members of whom about 10 are in the special education department. About 70 master's students are graduated per year. An important feature of this school is the emphasis on field-based instruction because of the extreme distances between population centers in this sparsely populated state.

The Dean

Dean C. is a professor of education as well as Dean of the School of Education. He is in his mid-fifties and has been a college administrator for close to 20 years. He was director of the laboratory school at another university prior to coming to this campus 12 years ago. He is very active nationally, serving on NCATE committees on standards and multi-education and various planning committees for the National Teacher Corps; he is a reader for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; and he has had numerous national appointments.

He seems to have a good idea of what DGPs are supposed to accomplish. He integrated his own agenda with the campus project because he wants to widen and broaden the views of people in a number of programs--Indian Reservation Training Program, Teacher Corps, Center for Handicapped Children, Campus School, the regular education faculty--on the implications of Public Law 94-142 and the kinds of changes that are needed in both teacher-training and school programs. He relies very heavily on the DGP coordinator to conduct the project and he keeps his involvement more at the political and policy level.

The Dean's Grant Project

The project itself originated in the division of special education. It was put together by a committee of about 10 people, including the present coordinator. The latter manages the day-to-day operations of the grant which is in the fifth year of funding; it supports 2.5 FTE faculty members. The project has a two-pronged approach: (a) to focus pre-service training on issues affecting handicapped pupils at both the undergraduate and graduate levels at a regional Indian Reservation; and (b) to facilitate the development of pre-service training programs throughout the state by trying to influence other institutions of higher education. With the grant, a multi-campus

consortium for examining issues related to Public Law 94-142 was established. Both Teacher Corps and the Dean's Grant Project provide training and assistance to the Indian Reservations in the areas of education for handicapped persons and multicultural curricula.

Initiation/Mobilization

Dean C. feels that by placing the DGP in his office it gets more support. He takes more interest in this project than, for example, the Teacher Corps, mainly because he feels some personal responsibility. He said he supports the other projects but he doesn't really know what's going on and depends much more on project directors to keep him informed; with the Dean's Grant Project, however, he does know what is going on and is more involved with it. During the last year he asked staff members--mainly the coordinator and field coordinator--to establish objectives and timelines, and he then met with them monthly to see how they were getting along.

The project coordinator, who has been at this university for 12 years, has a Ph.D. in special education. He and about 12 faculty members from special education and some superintendents from public schools, plus the Dean, got together and wrote the DGP proposal. They had been asked by the state department of education to apply for the grant.

Project Activities

Dean C. supports the DGP by meeting with the project and the field coordinators on a monthly basis, going over their goals, objectives, and timelines. He sends a quarterly report to about 2,000 teachers, administrators, and educators in the state. Two or three articles in each newsletter explain the DGP and make public statements about the need to attend to the education of handicapped children in mainstream settings.

The Dean has been very involved this year with state certification. The state just established a new set of standards and he provided some documentation on how he influenced state certification to reflect the demands of educating handicapped pupils in mainstream settings. He also works with people in the public schools. Periodically, he visits small schools in the state, talks to superintendents and teachers, and explains to them the role of the college in order to gain their support for various projects.

The coordinator spoke of things a dean can do to get in the way of a project's success. Dictating the goals of the DGP, for example, would be a problem. The faculty is extremely sensitive to an administrator's trying to dictate curriculum.

The coordinator feels that the project would have been better off if it had not been tied totally to special education. The special education faculty at this University has a new building. The members have travel funds because of federal grants. Quite a bit of resistance is displayed by the

regular education faculty to special education activities as a result.

Dean C. is closer to this project than to the Teacher Corps, according to the coordinator. He is more involved with the DGP, he seems to pay more attention to it, he feels that it is his baby, and, as a result, he has paid much more attention to campus and state politics and issues than he did prior to being awarded the DGP.

The coordinator's role is similar to a project director's; he manages the budget, supervises the staff, provides a lot of the inservice, and is on call to the regular education faculty. Because he is a full professor and a senior, he is fairly philosophical about the DGP and his role in it. He has a good working relation with the Dean and other faculty members.

7. A Big Impact on a Small University

General Context

The University is small and private. It is noted for its picturesque campus and attention to a liberal arts education. Started by a religious order 80 years ago, it has a reputation for conservative but quality education, stressing classical instruction in arts, science, and philosophy. Tuition costs are relatively high in comparison with nearby universities but enrollment has remained stable, and the university has a stable financial base. The enrollment consists of about 3000 undergraduates and 1000 graduates.

Of the five schools that make up the university, the school of education is by far the smallest, enrolling about 100 undergraduates in elementary education and 100 in secondary education; the latter take much of their coursework in the college of arts and science. Because of this small enrollment, the school of education has only 4 full-time faculty members of whom 3 are tenured. The 4 full-time faculty members have been at the university an average of 12 years. Another 15 educators teach on an adjunct or part-time basis, although several teach what could be considered a full load of 12 hours.

The school of education offers undergraduate certification in elementary and secondary education. The master's degree is offered in these areas and in reading. In guidance and counseling, the degree is offered in conjunction with the counseling and psychology department.

The Dean

This is Dean M.'s first deanship and he describes himself as a "rookie." He spent a number of years at large, public universities administering teacher-training programs so he has useful experience in teacher education. A small private institution presents special challenges, he said, especially to a rookie dean in a small and understaffed department. He reported a

certain amount of resistance to the changes he brings, from both the university administrators, who were used to his elderly predecessor, and the full-time education faculty members who resist attempts to change the way they are used to doing things.

Dean M. had a number of goals when he accepted the job two years ago. He immediately replaced the secretarial staff and began a comprehensive reorganization of student record keeping. He traveled around the state to meet school district personnel, other deans, and state department staff members in order to learn the climate and nature of teacher education in other state institutions. He developed a reputation in the University as a man with many plans and ideas to expand the school of education and reverse the decline in enrollment. During the first year Dean M. made significant changes in the department. He was also awarded two grants, a small Teacher Center grant from a local foundation and a $50,000 Dean's Grant.

The Dean's Grant Project

The amount of the DGP award was average in comparison to other grants around the nation. In this case, however, it had a major impact on the school of education. For one thing, this University had never had a federal education grant before, and the award impressed upon the financially conservative administration that the new dean of education could get action. Dean M. had some priorities for the funds in terms of increasing the resources of the education department. A project coordinator was hired, an individual who had expertise in special as well as regular education. A half-time graduate student and a part-time secretary added more personnel resources to the understaffed education unit. Other grant funds were earmarked for materials, training videotapes, teacher manipulatives, and textbooks related to the new area of special education.

Initiation/Mobilization

A major goal of the DGP is to prepare all undergraduates in the needed competencies to work with handicapped students. Two strategies were planned to achieve this goal: (a) to require all undergraduates to take a course providing an overview of exceptional students and their needs; it provides an immediate influence as an introductory experience to the needs of exceptional students; and (b) the more difficult task of a major curriculum reform to revise all existing coursework to incorporate competencies related to the education of handicapped children. The second strategy was planned to take three years, with the first year devoted to faculty awareness training and the next two years, to revising and reevaluating course requirements.

Dean M. played an important part in this goal. As Dean in a small private school, he can advise students in coursework and set requirements, such as the "Exceptional Child" course. At this stage he was active in "talking

up" the grant: to students, to the University community and administration, and to education faculty members. He made it clear that all would participate and he presented the three-year time line of activities. Dean M. communicated with the faculty through memos and individual meetings, for the most part, and he used these means to stress the importance of building and expanding the department DGP funds. A series of interviews with faculty members identified preferred methods of staff development and inservice activities. Inasmuch as the department was so small, an individualized approach was chosen. The project coordinator interviewed each faculty member regarding interest areas, needs related to special education inservice, and preferred methods of getting information (presentations, readings, conferences, etc.). The Dean and project coordinator then routed articles and ordered books according to the particular interest area of individual faculty members. The latter could request travel funds to assist with conference costs if special education learning benefits in the trip could be shown. Throughout the beginning stages of this DGP, several conferences were planned for the personnel of private schools and of other local small universities. These conferences stressed learnings related to the education of handicapped children, and faculty members were asked to participate in these activities, as were university administrators. The activities served as inservice for faculty members and, at the same time, afforded visibility to the DGP.

Dean M. has a clear sense of the benefits of positive publicity. At these beginning stages he took many opportunities to publicize the DGP and its activities. This strategy was especially important in combating the negative attitudes of faculty members who resisted the changes that Dean M. espoused. Faculty members were offered rewards in the form of travel funds and classroom resources if they chose to participate in faculty-development activities.

Project Activities

The site was visited at the beginning of its second year of operations so the major goal of instituting curriculum change had not begun yet. Dean M. and the project coordinator planned strategies to take advantage of the resources the grant provides in terms of personnel and budget to hire consultants to assist with the job of reforming the curriculum. Faculty members, as they were before, will be asked to participate, with rewards in the form of released time and travel funds. Consultants, the Dean, and the project staff will complete and monitor the job of adapting the curriculum so that all students in this private school will be prepared to teach handicapped students.

Institutionalization

Dean M. talked of the need to plan for institutionalization. He planned many strategies and generated publicity to strengthen the education unit as a

whole. For instance, personnel hired to carry out the project activities also teach specialized courses in the education of handicapped children, and the Dean expects a special education certificate to be offered within a year. Materials and training modules were purchased with project funds and they will be useful to the faculty after the grant is completed. The attention and publicity generated by the grant will have long-term benefits to the department in changing the attitudes of students, the administration, and faculty members. It is becoming clear that this department is growing, in terms of both resources and materials and the growing enrollment of students who are attracted to the new program.

DESCRIPTIVE RESULTS

Research reports traditionally start with a review of pertinent literature followed by chapters that detail the methodology and results of the study. This report differs from the traditional format: It integrates the review of the literature and the findings. Because literature on the specific topic of deans as change agents in higher education is almost nonexistent, the literature search was extended to a number of related topics: administrative advocacy in general, the process of instituting change in public schools, and the fascinating subject of the situational context of higher education. The review of these materials is integrated with the findings of the case study interviews and is presented in three subsections.

1. The first concern is with the supportive behaviors of the deans who were interviewed. The concept of advocacy is developed through a review of existing literature on the topic and helps to focus and define three roles of advocates: Persuader, Negotiator, and Choreographer. These roles are described using quotations and actual situations from the site visits as well as appropriate citations from the literature.

2. The concept of intensity of involvement is developed according to three categories that seem to differ primarily in the amount or intensity of participation. Again, quotations and situations from the research are used to add depth and details.

3. Nonsupportive behaviors of deans are examined. Although not many of these behaviors are identified, they are a useful contrast to the sections dealing with advocacy behavior.

4. Finally, the advocacy roles and intensity of involvement categories are presented in a grid format that graphically displays their interrelations. Conclusions and suggestions for further research complete the report.

Advocacy and Administrative Support

The awarding of Deans' Grants directly to deans was planned specifically to build advocacy, commitment, and awareness into the role of the chief administrator of schools and colleges of education. A dean active in the early planning of the program described the rationale as follows:

> Special educators have tried to change regular teacher-training programs for years, but they had no luck. A dean could do it though. If deans could be brought together for discussion forums, they could learn from each other how to change teacher education. The dean could be chief planner, and Deans' Grants could provide planning money. (Corrigan, 1980)

These early planners saw the funding as a powerful means to legitimate a dean's participation in curricular reform and transform him into an advocate

for educating handicapped children in mainstream settings. Numerous change studies reinforce this notion. They stress administrative advocacy as an essential variable of successful change efforts (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975; Bryson & Delbecq, 1979; Emrick et al., 1977; Gross et al., 1971; Hall, Loucks, & George, 1978; Reinhard et al., 1979; Smith & Keith, 1971). For instance, the comprehensive review of literature by Fullan and Pomfret (1977) does not cover the specifics of the role of administrators in the change process but in numerous instances the authors refer to the importance of administrative support if change efforts are to be successful. Several other studies indicate that leadership is crucial to the success of new programs (Gross et al., 1971; Heichberger, 1975; Smith & Keith, 1971).

> The performance of management can have a critical bearing on the implementation of innovations, most notably in establishing and monitoring the conditions that will facilitate the implementation of the innovation of subordinates. (Gross et al., 1971, p. 199)

Emrick and his colleagues (1977) expanded on the understanding of advocacy. They reported that successful dissemination projects had the early involvement of administrative and instructional decision makers in the client schools. Change was unlikely to occur in these projects unless the administrative staff concurred and gave their permission for the proposed change.

The Rand Study of Educational Change discusses the role of administrators in change. It designates administrators as "gatekeepers" in recognition of their vital role in either facilitating or inhibiting innovation (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975). The researchers (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975: Mann, 1976) reported that the projects that accomplish the least are redirected or subverted by administrators. Unsuccessful projects directly challenge the principal's leadership role and try to move teachers away from practices sanctioned by the principal. Endorsement and active support by administrators are almost always necessary for success.

Carpenter-Hoffman, Hall, and Summer (1977), addressing the advocacy role, stated," it is invaluable to have the close and committed attention of some official who has the professional respect of colleagues and sufficient authority to overcome red tape and get things done" (p. 88). Although all these studies stress the need for administrators who are advocates, few detail the actual activities--the administrative behaviors--that support change, and none offers specific information on the activities of higher education administrators who are perceived as advocates. The focus of the next section is on the roles that deans take and their activities in directing Dean's Grant Projects. The description of these roles comes from the review of literature. The behaviors emerged from interviews, and from observations at the 10 sites.

The Dean as Negotiator with Competing Factions

Theorists of organizational structures of higher education have described the decision-making process in such institutions. Cohen and March (1974), for instance, portrayed universities as "organized anarchies, characterized by problematic goals, unclear technology and fluid, voluntary participation" (p. 3). They defined anarchy by unclear institutional goals, no universally accepted technology of teaching, and the volunteer nature of fluid participation. These characteristics complicate the processes of change in organizational structure, faculty attitudes, and involvement which Deans' Grants Projects propose to make. In a memo to the faculty, one dean stated,

> Universities do not generally have clearcut goals that are understood and subscribed to by all. Goals are multiple, vague, general and contradictory. They are subject to different interpretations by different individuals. (Koff, 1980, p. 2)

Norms of faculty autonomy in higher education present another difficulty to the change process, making communication difficult and complicating the organizational hierarchy. Mandelbaum (1979) described the situation as follows:

> The independence and formal intellectual equality of each faculty member conflicts with the necessary (even if minimal) hierarchy of a real organization with ranks and differential prestige. Within an academic department there tend to be conspicuous inhibitions on technical communications. Most attempts to improve instruction flounder because of difficulties in institutionalizing change that depends on inter-departmental cooperation. (p. 2)

Interdepartmental cooperation and communication are key requirements in DGPs yet the theorists, as well as our observations, show communication to be most difficult to achieve. Special educators and regular educators, in the sites we visited, reported lack of communication and, in some cases, outright hostility between their departments. This lack of communication presents significant difficulty for projects that propose to prepare regular education faculty members and students in what traditionally have been special education techniques. This sort of change presupposes interdependence, communication among departments, and the willingness of faculty members to change and learn new skills. The norms in higher education of faculty autonomy and independence, coupled with organized anarchy (Cohen & March, 1974) complicate

the task of making change.

The position of DGPs in the complex context of a university was described by Mandelbaum (1979) during his speculations on the place of innovation in higher education settings:

> Universities respond by adding functions and units at the margins of their established activities. These innovations are voluntary associations--fiercely chosen unions of faculty. The combination of marginality and voluntary association insures a great volume of innovative activity since not much has to change to support it, and the essential interests and character of the existing units will remain preserved. (p. 704-705)

Weick's (1976) theory of loosely coupled systems supports this view:

> Universities are loosely coupled systems in that coupled events are responsive, but each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness. Loose coupling carries connotations of impermanence and dissolvability. (p. 18)

These theories characterize the most problematic aspect of DGPs. The projects easily can become marginal organizations, not "owned" by either special or regular education. "Marginal and loosely coupled" grants quickly dissolve when funding ceases. The comprehensive changes in curriculum, knowledge, and attitudes that the grants propose cannot be institutionalized or integrated into the total organization without careful planning, persuasion, and negotiation involving the competing forces in higher education settings. Interdependence and cooperation are essential for success, and the individual in the ideal position to plan for, persuade, and negotiate among these forces is the dean.

According to Gould (1964), "The dean must be able to effect change without creating a revolution. He does this by evolving a consensus of the faculty" (p. 99). Griffiths (1977) added additional insights with the argument that the key administrative process in an organization is the ability to bargain. Ryan (1977) called it the talent for mediation and collaboration.

The deans we interviewed frequently described their roles as those of mediator and negotiator between the often discordant views of special and regular education. The political model of decision making described by Baldridge (1978) typifies the situations we observed.

> When we look at the complex and dynamic process that explodes on the modern campus today we see neither the rigid formal aspects of bureaucracy nor the calm consensus directed elements of an academic collegium. Groups express

> their interests in many different ways, bringing pressure on the decision-making process from any number of angles, and using power and force whenever it is available and necessary. Power and influence, once articulated, go through a complex process until policies are shaped, reshaped, and forged out of the competing claims of multiple groups. (pp. 19-20)

We heard over and over, in our interviews, of instances in which the dean had negotiated with divergent groups on behalf of the DGP. Some instances occurred in the education unit, usually between special and regular education. We heard of many instances of external negotiations with funding agencies or parts of the larger university. Whether internal or external, the role of negotiator is a key one for the deans we visited.

Internal Negotiations

We were informed at every site we visited that the dean's ownership and control of the grant was essential. Faculty members and the deans themselves told us that to achieve DGP objectives with regular education faculty members it was better not to identify too closely with any group. Special education departments existed in seven of the 10 sites we visited. If the Dean's Grant was closely identified with the special educators at these sites, then regular education faculty members often evidenced resentment.

> There has been a backlash with our Dean's Grant. Some faculty members are concerned we are going to become a "College of Special Education." Dean
>
> Our project would be better off outside the special education department. There is quite a bit of resistance on the part of regular educators because the grant is identified with special education, which has a new building, and lots of travel money through federal grants. Coordinator
>
> Our first Dean's Grant was coordinated by the head of special ed--but everything he tried was resisted. Coordinator
>
> The dean has to be careful not to align with any special faction on the faculty, particularly the special education faculty. Faculty Member

Conflicts and resentments between special and regular educators were common in the places we visited; hence the DGPs were often marginal, in a middle-ground position, not really owned by either group. Several deans described their role as mediators, smoothing out difficulties between humanists and behaviorists. To combat such factionalism, some deans kept control of the grant but tried to negotiate the participation of a representative group

of faculty members (a "populist management team," as one dean put it). This strategy was perceived as successful by both faculty members and DGP staff. In a few cases, the dean pushed for the consolidation of effort among several grants and projects and the collaboration of work groups made up of faculty members in different departments.

> It works because the dean has not given the grant to special education--he controls it from his office. Faculty Member
>
> Our dean has been careful not to align the grant with any special faculty faction, particularly special education. Faculty Member
>
> The dean encouraged faculty members who have other grants to work in creative ways and reduce duplication of effort. Faculty Member
>
> The dean pushed for departmental management--a Populist management team, he called it. Coordinator
>
> The dean was determined that a number of departments be involved in order to share the responsibility. Coordinator

External Negotiations

Several deans whom we interviewed played active roles in BEH funding negotiations, the sort of external negotiations that only the dean can do. In some cases the dean took an active role in getting the grant, conceptualizing the proposal, and, in a few cases actually writing the proposal. We heard several instances of telephone or person-to-person contacts with BEH personnel to negotiate the budget or question funding decisions.

> The dean went to all the regional and national Dean's Grant meetings and tried to talk to BEH funders about increasing the budget. Coordinator
>
> The dean went with the coordinator to BEH to get more funds so she could teach full time in a mainstreamed classroom for a semester. Faculty Member
>
> The dean is willing to get on the phone and push for commitments from the funding agency. Faculty Member
>
> He contacted BEH when our funding was not approved and assisted with renegotiation. Coordinator

Other deans clearly gave the DGP a high priority, which was evidenced by visibility and public relations at university administrative levels. These deans represented the projects capably on committees throughout the campus

and used their visibility and position to negotiate support for project activities.

> We had a Dean's Grant Workshop one Saturday, and the Vice President and Chancellor attended. So did 300 other people. Coordinator
>
> The dean made a special presentation at the University-wide Dean's meeting, and spoke on behalf of the grant and lent his support to it. Coordinator

We heard that deans could manipulate the reward structure of the university on behalf of the DGPs: developing overload policies and cutting through red tape as no one else could.

> The grant award is not much--but relatively it adds a great deal to my discretionary budget--the money I can use for faculty rewards. Over 95% of my present budget is fixed line items--so the Dean's Grant is a welcome addition. Dean
>
> The University priority hiring positions list came out yesterday. Out of 85 vacancies on this campus, our Dean's Grant position was rated in the top 7. The Dean had really talked it up. Coordinator
>
> When there were problems with the grant and the university wanted a meeting, the dean found out the content of the meeting ahead of time so that we could come in with all the data we needed. Coordinator

The deans we interviewed described some common problems of higher education, particularly declining enrollments that caused budget and program cuts. They described their various tactics to insure survival of education programs and their optimism about the role of DGPs in an otherwise gloomy forecast for the future.

We heard of deans who were carrying the goals of the DGPs to state-level

> Our dean became visible in state politics as an advocate for the handicapped. Faculty Member
>
> The dean writes about the Dean's Grant goals in his quarterly report that is sent to 2000 teachers and administrators in the state. Coordinator
>
> He sponsored a competition with a nearby university to increase attendance at a state Public Law 94-142 convention. Faculty Member

political and certification channels. These administrators were supporting standards for certification that would require all teachers to be prepared to work with handicapped people, a marketable skill in the current job market.

In sum, our observations and interviews confirm the existence of political forces, which have been theorized, in organizations of higher education. For example, DGPs were caught in the middle of opposing views of education; thus the innovations they supported carried the potential of becoming marginal and easily eradicated. Deans were the negotiators between the divergent forces in order to build ownership and integrate DGPs into existing programs. When deans are the directors of activities such as DGPs, they are in the unique and powerful position to mediate conflicts of values within education units and to negotiate with essential external forces. How they carry out these functions is the subject of the next section.

Facilitator of Change Without Revolution

The Dean as Persuader

Deans and faculty members told us how DGPs are organized. At each of the 10 sites, deans worked through coordinators and faculty advisory committees to achieve the project's goals. We found that deans could assure involvement in DGP activities through powers of persuasion, both direct and indirect. Some literature supports this role of persuader, especially given the political nature of universities. According to Baldridge (1970),

> [T]he complex university is primarily political, with elements of bureaucratic and collegial decision making. The successful dean in this context, i.e., the one who maintains order and morale in the collectivity, and achieves personal as well as the college's objectives, is the one who can exercise persuasion on colleagues. (p. 20)

Kanter and Wheatley (n.d.) discussed the same ability, arguing that deans need qualities of "moral suasion." It is their skills as political actors that count, the authors wrote.

> In the boundary roles in a college or university--roles that must mediate between environments, constituencies, and factions--the skills that seem important are the ability to: bring people together; give bad news without provoking too much resentment; salesmanship; negotiation; understanding the faculty and how to deal with them; and tactics as a "supreme mediator." (p. 5)

These authors described a task for which deans are uniquely prepared. As chief administrators of DGPs, deans can offer both political astuteness and the "power of office" to strengthen what otherwise might be a marginal and easily dissolved change effort.

Conant (1967) extended the understanding of the "power of the dean's office." He presented the idea of a dean acting as "subversive bureaucrat by systemizing an organization within which he or she must also stimulate the expression and application of creative and idiosyncratic thought" (p. 277). Professors, Conant observed, typically are members of a "hidden university." They have national and even international commitments to specialized scholarship. Although a dean's power over departmental policies may be limited and ambiguous, given norms of faculty autonomy, a dean's personal power over individuals, salaries, and promotions is substantial. Scholarly prestige is conferred by the discipline and members of the "hidden university," but the dean, by vetoing a promotion, can withhold the local recognition of that prestige. He has the capacity to by-pass ordinary channels, allowing a subversion of the brueaucratic system.

Salancik and Pfeffer (1977), through their research, extended the ideas of deans' power sources:

> Power in universities is affected by three factors: scarcity, criticality [sic] of resources, and uncertainty. When individuals do not agree about what organization should do or how to do it, power, persuasion and other social processes will affect decisions. (p. 13)

They concluded, "under conditions of uncertainty, the powerful manager can argue his case on any grounds and usually win it" (p. 13).

A Dean's Grant contributes critical resources in the form of extra discretionary funds--a scarce resource indeed. Furthermore, if the purpose of the grant is carried out, it offers access to specialized knowledge and training that gives teachers more marketable skills in a competitive job market. Awarding the grants to deans, who have the power of their office, should create powerful forces for change.

We observed the process to be more complex, however. The dean's direct use of authority, especially in matters of curriculum reform, is not usually acceptable in universities. Appleton suggested that "a dean's authority is given by virtue of office, but it is the last card to be played" (p. 55). Conant's (1967) view of the strength of the dean's role concurs with the findings of this study:

> A dean's main resource is persuasiveness due to the ambiguity of power. The dean must rely heavily on personal ability to influence and manipulate people in the

> wished for direction. The dean can judiciously use the committee system by creating ad hoc committees to deal with projects, and by putting sympathetic faculty on those committees. (p. 278)

The examples of power and persuasiveness which were observed seem to fit the categories of direct persuasion, indirect or "power of the office" persuasion, and persuasion through others.

Direct Persuasion

A number of very direct methods by which deans tried to influence faculty members to participate in DGP activities were identified. The particular methods are highly dependent on personal style and situational context; thus, one method may have been rated as highly successful by a dean in his situation but as unsuccessful by another person at another place. Nevertheless, the following direct persuasive behaviors deserve discussion.

Deans who talk about the DGP, its goals, objectives, and potential, make a convincing persuasive argument for participation.

> At the first faculty meeting we discussed the grant, and I called for a vote of support. I made it clear that this grant would be an "all out effort."
> Dean
>
> Our dean mentioned the Dean's Grant and mainstreaming in the State of the College address.
> Faculty Member
>
> The dean repeatedly refers to Dean's Grant activities at Administrative Council meetings. Coordinator

Direct verbal support is most important during a project's initial stages. The deans who made a point of direct active persuasion at September

> The coordinator, besides being competent, is clearly the Dean's assistant. Their offices are nearby, and they meet at least twice a week.
> Faculty Member
>
> I feel that P.L. 94-142 is a "righteous mandate." Our Dean's Grant hopes to interpret this policy to a wider range of students and faculty. Dean
>
> The dean legitimized participation in the Dean's Grant as a part of our normal workload. He did this at our first faculty meeting. Dean

faculty meetings were remembered as advocates by faculty members and coordinators. This support usually took the forms of commitment to the goals and "vision" of the project and legitimating the project staff by identifying the individuals with the "vision."

Memos, letters, handwritten notes, and columns in faculty newsletters were the behicles for direct written support of DGP activities. For instance, one dean wrote a column for the biweekly departmental newsletter in which he stressed long-range goals for the college and his vision of the future of teacher education. Given his large-university situation and his reputation as a scholar, this was a most successful technique to persuade faculty members to inform themselves about DGP activities.

> The Dean's Column -- it's the first thing I read.
> Faculty Member
>
> Even though we don't see the dean real often, since he works through the associate deans, we know what he thinks about the Dean's Grant--because of the column.
> Faculty Member

Other deans used their visibility as scholars to produce journal articles and conference presentations on the purposes of DGPs. The resulting national visibility was a powerful magnet that attracted the involvement of faculty members.

> Our dean is nationally prestigious, and can get the involvement of both regular and special education.
> Faculty Member
>
> Our dean has attended several national conferences and presented on Dean's Grant activities. Faculty Member

At another site, the dean's style of leadership was more informal. He preferred handwritten notes, which he attached to DGP announcements, handouts, and articles. This method, given its institutional context, was perceived as supportive.

> I was touched that the Dean would remember I was interested in P.E. for the handicapped, and sent me a note with the article. Faculty Member
>
> I felt I had a personal invitation to develop a module for the Dean's Grant. Faculty Member

Another dean, one who worked with the multiple pressures of an urban university, found formal letters to be a useful, direct, persuasive strategem. Despite his crowded schedule, he sent out the letters inviting faculty members to attend inservice workshops. Although less personal than handwritten notes, they fit into his schedule and matched the formality of the faculty with which he worked.

Indirect Persuasion

This type of behavior relates well to the "Being There" advocacy behaviors that are described in the following section. The strength of the "power of the dean's office" is a potent persuader for participation. Faculty members at each of the 10 sites described how the dean had persuaded them to become involved in the DGPs. In addition to the direct behaviors already reported, the faculty members usually mentioned an undefinable entity that was sometimes described as "clout"; it was subtle and could not be described in specific behavioral terms.

> The dean could get people to participate who wouldn't ordinarily be involved. Faculty Member
>
> The dean used his clout at department meetings. Faculty Member
>
> The dean subtly diffused faculty resistance to the mainstreaming course. Faculty Member
>
> Using the dean's office as a grant-promoting vehicle carries a lot of weight. Faculty Member
>
> The dean "set the tone" for participation. Faculty Member

When deans advocate and support activities, faculty members know it. This knowledge is pervasive among faculty members even when the dean is relatively uninvolved and invisible to faculty members. At each site we visited, faculty members could tell us what and whom the dean favored, even when the dean preferred to work through associate deans and department chairpersons. The knowledge appeared to be based not only on a series of actions which could be identified but, also, on a set of subtle, unidentifiable behaviors. The concept of "gestalt" seems to describe what we saw: all behaviors, overt and covert, fit into a pattern that broadcast a message of the deans' advocacy or nonadvocacy. A dean who broadcasts his advocacy of the DGP is a most subtle but powerful persuader for faculty development.

Persuasion Through Others

Some deans we interviewed let associates help with persuasion. At one

site, an international special education conference was scheduled under the auspices of the physical education department. This conference was accompanied by building remodeling to meet accessibility standards, and it convinced the education department of the scope and potential of the handicapped equity movement.

At another site, nationally known scholars were brought to campus on behalf of the DGP. Faculty members were impressed with the power and prestige of these visitors and with their commitment to and support of DGPs. Deans who were demonstrably a part of the network of project consultants and other participants were persuasive factors for the increase of faculty participation at the local level.

I argue, on the basis of the interviews, that persuasion must be fine tuned to fit a dean's style of leadership and a particular institutional situation. There seems to be a very thin line between persuasion and overt direction, and the placement of this line depends on both leadership style and situation. As a result of this study, there is confirmation for what the literature supports: deans lead by persuasion more than authoritarian direction. Whether direct or indirect, this "moral suasion," as Kanter and Wheatley (n.d.) put it, is an extremely powerful stimulus to change.

Managing a Temporary System

The Dean as Choreographer of Change

Most change studies agree with the finding that "the process of introducing and implementing change in schools is far more difficult and complex than current views envision" (Fullan & Pomfret, 1977, p. 324). According to Hall and his colleagues (1978), "change is viewed as a process, not an event. There is an extended process of gradual behavior change, often difficult and time consuming, associated with change" (p. 3).

The planners of the Dean's Grant program theorized that deans are in an excellent position to facilitate, or choreograph, the change processes needed to reorganize teacher-education programs. The literature concurs, identifying the activities of deans that clarify this role. Deans can coach, orchestrate, direct, and reassure faculty members in the same way that a choreographer oversees and directs dancers.

Several studies identify distinct stages in the process of making change. Hall's model, for example, proposes seven stages for examining the change process (Hall et al., 1978). The Rand Study of Educational Change (Berman & McLaughlin, 1975) presents a simpler view in which initiation, implementation, and incorporation are identified as three separate and distinct stages in the change process (Vol. V, p. 8). These stages are supported by Mann (1976) and Reinhard and Arends (1979).

Bryson's findings are of particular interest to Deans' Grants. His

research with Delbecq (1979), identified tactics that relate to success: During planning stages a high status, credible, nonvested chairperson is needed along with consultation with potential project facilitators and inhibitors; involving and co-opting all actors is important from the start; and shared discussion and problem solving is most desirable. Bryson and Delbecq's work revealed several consistent findings at transitional or procedural stages. Access to and liaison with top administrators during the trial period are essential as are problem-solving ability backed by authority and a high-quality staff. Also important is the alliance with interested parties to develop a sense of shared commitment.

Clearly, these researchers stress the importance of (a) access to and liaison with high-status, credible advocates and (b) involving interested persons and groups from the start. Deans' Grant Projects guarantee the first point by requiring the dean to be project director. The second is also assured: at each site we found that an effort had been made, though not always successfully, to involve faculty members in planning processes. The interviews suggest that deans can assess the receptivity and capacity of faculties for change. We heard about the actions of deans that facilitated mutual adaptation between the projects and faculty members who were affected by the project activities.

Clarification for another observed role of deans is provided by Fullan and Pomfret (1977). In their comprehensive review of the literature, they isolated two critical factors for successful change projects: Procedures must be planned to deal with conflicts over goals, means, and resources, and structures and supports must be developed so that affected persons can define their needs and choose their solutions. We heard about deans who facilitated mutual adaptation between projects and the faculty members who were affected by the DGP activities. It was observed that deans can deal with predictable conflicts between divergent factions by careful choreography, coaching, and coordinated planning. Additionally, the activities were identified through which deans provide the structures and supports to facilitate the process of change, using both DGP personnel and financial resources.

Role Clarity and Communication

Most deans who were interviewed left day-to-day operations of the DGP to other people, usually project coordinators and/or management teams. The literature on change processes indicates that this behavior is appropriate at operational stages. It must be remembered that the DGPs at the 10 sites were experienced (2 years' funding was a selection criteria).

Project coordinators play crucial roles. In almost all the sites, if the DGP was too closely associated with the special education department, problems developed. Coordinators who most successfully bridged the gap between departments provided a careful mix of credibility and understanding of both regular

> Our dean generally does not interfere at all on a day-to-day basis. Coordinator
>
> The Dean and I meet weekly to communicate and brainstorm about the project. Coordinator

and special education. This dual credibility is absolutely essential; so too is the coordinator's spirit of cooperation and helpfulness.

In hiring a coordinator for DGPs, the first impulse of deans was reported to be to look to the special education department. The idea was not always successful. One said,

> I started out by assigning the special education department head to pull together the DGP. He couldn't get people to attend his inservice sessions. He just didn't relate to the regular faculty. This year I moved the project from special education to the Dean's office--it has helped a lot.

> Our dean chose a capable, well-respected coordinator. Faculty Member
>
> The dean recognized and "wooed" a potential new coordinator by sending him to a national meeting. Faculty Member
>
> The dean selected someone who was well-liked, enthusiastic, and had recognized teacher-education experience for the coordinator's job. Faculty Member
>
> I wanted a "benign behaviorist" to bridge the gap in the faculty. Dean

Another dean described his success. He was able to bridge the gap between divided regular and special education faculties by careful selection of a project coordinator, one who was credible to both faculties.

> Given the problems we have had here in the past, I began looking for what I called a benign behaviorist. I found a graduate student in special education who is credible with the regular education faculty because she has been a teacher. Also, her office is near mine, and we communicate often. Everyone knows she is the dean's proxy.

Communication and brainstorming are essential to role clarity: the who-does-what, day-to-day management of the project. Time and time again respondents argued that teams made up of dean and coordinator must clearly define

their individual roles regarding management of the DGP, and considerable variety was observed in how these roles were defined. Particular personality, academic status, and situational context appear to be determining factors in role definition. For instance, at one site, the coordinator was a well-respected full professor who provided both day-to-day management and conceptualization for the fifth-year Dean's Grant. The dean was minimally involved in the project. At another institution, a new dean and the project coordinator, a graduate student, achieved success through office proximity and almost daily contact, especially during the start-up stages. The coordinator described how the dean "coaches" her: "I tell him about problems I'm having with the grant, and he says, 'Well, have you tried...' or 'How about talking to....' He always has helpful strategies for me."

When the project coordinator is a low-status faculty member or graduate student, it is especially important that the dean coach and visibly and actively communicate project goals and activities to him or her. Careful role definition and highly visible communication between dean and coordinator are important to legitimate the activities of relatively inexperienced coordinators.

> The dean sets policy under which the coordinator (a graduate student) can work. Faculty Member
>
> The dean assists the coordinator to develop precise objectives and timelines. Faculty Member
>
> The dean works with the project coordinator to keep him informed of what's going on in the college. Faculty Member

In several sites, the coordinators were relatively high-status faculty members, an associate dean in one case and full professors with many publishing credits in the others. In these projects the dean provided a slightly different sort of support, easing the way for project goals and keeping communication channels open. Coordinators in these DGPs, perhaps appropriately because of their experience, took a more active role in conceptualizing the project goals. In some cases, the coordinators were the primary planners, with the dean providing mainly consultative support.

> I have direct line to the Dean--I don't have to go through department chair channels.
> Full Professor, Coordinator
>
> The coordinator (associate dean) is recognized by all as the Dean's mouthpiece--what she says is what he says. Faculty Member

> The dean gives the project coordinator (a full professor) considerable autonomy. Faculty Member

The issue of role clarity can be summarized by speculating that who does the job is not so important; what counts is clear communication and the dean's visible support for the activities.

Providing Social Support

In DGPs, as anywhere else, hard work deserves recognition. Specifically, deans who took the time to compliment hard-working coordinators, to thank faculty members for extra efforts on behalf of the project, and to express confidence in and social support for difficult change efforts were highly appreciated.

> When we had a problem, the dean called me and the department head in and helped us to work it out together. Coordinator
>
> Our dean is supportive of the project coordinator. Faculty Member
>
> The dean has given consistent support through all the different stages of this grant. Coordinator
>
> The dean tries to get faculty together in social situations saying, "You worked hard, you deserve this." Faculty Member

Social support from the dean builds trust. Coordinators and faculty members reported that they have confidence and can be more assertive in achieving project goals when they know that the dean "supports" them.

Using and Allocating Resources

Although the funding for DGPs is relatively low compared to other awards, it is important to consider the relation of the amount of money to other discretionary funds. In other words, if the dean receives $40,000 (the mean grant) and all of it can be used for faculty retreats, travel, inservice sessions, and other individual rewards, then he has a comparatively powerful resource to stimulate curriculum change. Thus deans control a powerful reward system through the Deans' Grants. Whatever the amount it is a relatively large addition to the deans' discretionary funds. In most sites discretionary funds were a scarce resource indeed. Numerous instances were reported in which DGP funds were used to persuade and reward faculty participation. Released time for faculty members to work on project objectives was common, as were faculty grants to stimulate module development. At one site, the dean

administered a mini-grant competition for faculty members who wished to research educational techniques for handicapped pupils.

> He encouraged faculty participation in special education related conferences and provided money from the grant to pay travel costs. Coordinator
>
> The dean suggested we use a special invitation, free luncheon seminar format, to provide faculty in-service. So far we have had 80% turnout at our sessions. Coordinator
>
> Every faculty member who developed a module in the summer got a $500 bonus. Faculty Member

In some projects deans took a direct role in budget management. In other projects, the coordinator provided the budget to the dean for approval. At one site, the dean facilitated a planning group's decisions on budgetary matters. The deans described their roles in relation to the funds as "more involved" during the start-up stages. For instance, in at least two cases, the deans were able to augment and in one case to save the grant by careful negotiation with and persuasion of the BEH representatives. Some deans used their "power of office" in the university to assist the project with funding problems, releasing funds, creating new positions, and advocating the goals of the grant.

Another vital service is provided by the personnel whose salaries are paid by DGP funds. At several sites graduate students were used to extend technical assistance and support services to faculty members. In three sites, project secretaries were available to assist faculty members, and they were perceived as most helpful.

In review, DGPs can provide essential and scarce resources to deans when they try to reorganize teacher-training programs. These resources take the forms of discretionary funds to stimulate change activities and additional personnel to facilitate these activities.

At several sites, college funds were used to augment DGP objectives and budgets.

> The dean provided a half-time secretary and travel money from the departmental budget to help with Dean's Grant activities. Coordinator
>
> Our dean provided over $20,000 from funds of the college to put faculty on summer salaries to plan an interdisciplinary course on P.L. 94-142. Coordinator

The use of the discretionary funds and "free" personnel provide an opportunity for deans to integrate changes into the total program, an essential criterion of institutionalization.

Conceptualization and Focus

Although deans usually left day-to-day management of the projects to associates, they regularly provided direction and scope to the DGP staff. Many respondents reported that the dean had assisted in the conceptualization of DGP goals and activities or had helped the coordinator to refocus and reorganize the project when things were not going well.

> The dean helped plan the first retreat and helped avoid key faults. He wanted us to have content broad enough so that faculty could see their own interests. Coordinator
>
> He provides the broad brush conceptualization, and leaves the implementation to us. Coordinator
>
> The dean provided the conceptual framework and management for the project. Coordinator
>
> The dean sets policy under which the faculty can work. Faculty Member

The deans themselves spoke of the goal of institutionalization: making sure that the purposes of the grant were incorporated into the curriculum, even after the funds were gone. Several stressed the larger mission of education in general and the place the DGP played in achieving that mission.

> He made speeches that integrated the Dean's Grant into the larger institutional mission. Faculty Member
>
> The dean translated the narrow focus of the Dean's Grant into a broader dream that helps sell our strategy. Coordinator
>
> The dean stresses the idea that this is the law and we are all responsible for implementation of the law of the land. Faculty Member

The ability to do "broad brush conceptualization" and to describe the parts that individuals play in the overall institutional mission is an important task, one that deans, by virtue of their leadership position, are well prepared to play.

CATEGORIES OF ADVOCACY INTENSITY

A second dimension of advocacy is "intensity of involvement." This dimension is often related to the dean's personal leadership style and the situational context during his administration of the goals and objectives of the DGP. The first category, Being There, is crucial if a dean is to be perceived as an advocate. The other categories, Active/Informed Involvement and Integration With Institutional Mission, are rare and more situationally dependent.

Being There

At each of the 10 sites we heard the same thing: The dean must support the DGP. When we tried to find out what "support" meant in this context, we discovered that in many cases respondents were referring to Being There, either the dean's bodily presence at seminars, lectures, and national meetings, or his signature "being there" on DGP memos and letters. In this category of intensity, the dean's support is more symbolic than manifest. It is as if the dean, by attending events and cosigning memos, models the sort of behavior he expects from faculty members. This modeling closely relates to the "power of the dean's office" in that the dean's presence and support is observed by faculty members.

In the cross section of DGPs, in large, small, research, and teacher-training institutions which were visited, the same thing was heard: physical presence means advocacy. A researcher who attended a DGP faculty inservice session described it as follows:

> There were 15 or so people there, chatting and waiting. The speaker was all ready to begin. When the dean and associate dean walked in there was a visible straightening of chairs--now the inservice was ready to start.

At this particular site the dean was exceedingly busy and usually overscheduled. The fact that he made time to attend DGP activities was perceived by everyone as a sign of support and advocacy.

Almost every dean stressed the importance of attending DGP activities. In some cases, apparently, simple physical presence is enough, but this presence is essential to model support. Respondents often reported "looking for the dean" at DGP activities. The fact that busy administrators find time to attend such events was perceived as supportive by almost everyone who was interviewed.

The amount of support of this "bodily presence" may be related to the usual relative isolation of the dean from faculty activities. Thus, at one site, simple bodily presence connoted a great deal of support because the university is large and the dean was usually perceived as uninvolved in

faculty matters. At another site, the dean could say, looking at his calendar, "There's no way I can get out of this Dean's Grant activity--I must go to the DGP National Conference." This negative-sounding statement was perceived as supportive by onlookers who knew of the dean's over-booked schedule. Other deans attended DGP meetings at state, regional, and national levels. This behavior, to faculty members, was interpreted as supportive and identified the dean as an advocate of the DGP goals and emphases.

At other institutions the deans attended all planning sessions as observers and listeners, for the most part. Their attendance seemed to facilitate and support planning, especially when several departments were involved. In higher education settings, time is a valued resource and how the dean allocates his time is symbolic of support. This fact is understood across departmental levels, so that even passive attendance by the dean is important.

> Sometimes the Dean attends our planning group, but more often it is his implied presence--we all know the project coordinator speaks for the Dean, so what she says is what he says. Faculty Member
>
> Our dean is great friends with national figures in the Dean's Grant network. Coordinator
>
> He attended mainstreaming meetings with public school personnel. Faculty Member

Sometimes the dean played the role of legitimater or tone setter at project events. At such times he introduced speakers or generated the quality of faculty retreats and inservice sessions; generally, he used his presence to legitimate the coordinator's or project's activities. After these preliminary duties, the dean usually played the role of observer or participant.

> The dean set the tone for the conference--he gave a brief and inspirational talk and said, "Don't call anyone dean or doctor at this conference." Coordinator
>
> The dean introduced the out-of-state speakers at our mainstreaming conference. Faculty Member

A second aspect of Being There centers on the dean's signature. At most sites, faculty members as well as deans stressed the importance of communications from the dean's office, with the dean's signature prominently displayed. These communications appeared to be especially influential on requests to the faculty for additional participation in inservice and other staff-development activities.

> When the dean was away from campus we set up an arrangement to get his signature on Dean's Grant information I wanted to send out so we didn't have to wait for his return. Coordinator
>
> The dean is visible; he countersigns the memos and the meeting notices. Coordinator

At this Being There stage the memo or meeting notice is usually written by someone else, often the project coordinator, but it is essential that the dean's letterhead be used and, most important, that the dean's signature be prominently displayed.

The final aspect of Being There is proximity to the Dean's office. The factionalism and interdepartmental rivalry in many institutions made it especially important for DGP personnel to be housed close to the dean's office in order to avoid identification with any department. Clearly, this arrangement facilitated communication, but the powerful symbolic support so denoted was equally important. Some relatively trivial matters also were important in symbolizing the dean's support, for example, access to the dean's Xerox key, the size and amenities of the project quarters, and the location of these quarters.

> Everyone knows the Dean's Grant has access to the dean's secretary and his Xerox key. Coordinator
>
> When you call the Dean's Grant coordinator, it is the dean's telephone extension number too. Faculty Member
>
> This location (next door to the dean) is useful; we catch each other coming and going in the halls for informal communication. Coordinator

Active Involvement

In many projects deans not only attended meetings and inservice sessions, but, also, played an active and informed role by participating in inservices, giving presentations, and demonstrating a knowledge and conceptual understanding of the project's purposes.

> I was really impressed when the Dean gave a presentation on Dean's Grants at a recent state meeting. He had really learned about the Grant and special education and gave a most knowledgeable presentation. Faculty Member
>
> Our dean volunteered to participate in a videotaped teaching module for faculty. He was very involved and helpful. Faculty Member

Sometimes the dean and project coordinator interacted at meetings and planning sessions in a manner that showed mutual participation and decision making. This interaction was interpreted as supportive of both the project and the person in the coordinator's position. Deans who took an active leadership role were able to facilitate and support the changes proposed by the DGP. Respondents reported that knowledgeable deans who understood the project and took an active role in it were seen as strong advocates. Their involvement was demonstrated in a number of ways; for instance, one dean volunteered information about the DGP and its activities to colleagues in the hallway, on car trips to conferences, and in other informal settings, and several other deans were active in coordinating DGP conferences and retreats, inviting and entertaining the speakers.

One dean wrote about the DGP in his quarterly report to local schools and volunteered to talk to superintendents and teachers about the project. Two deans wrote articles on DGP activities which were published in national journals, and another provided "Dean's Columns" regularly to the DGP newsletter. Yet another showed his commitment by learning the technical language of special education and becoming a recognized advocate of handicapped persons at state levels. Several deans took unusually active roles in conceptualizing DGP goals. Their active attention to curriculum change was interpreted as a strong commitment to the projects in their universities.

> I don't get excited by mandates and master plans, it's commitment that counts and our dean has shown he is actively committed to the Dean's Grant.
> Faculty Member
>
> Our dean provides the broad brush conceptualization to the grant. Coordinator
>
> The dean provided the conceptual framework and management for the project. Coordinator

At several sites deans took unusually active roles in planning DGP activities, chairing meetings, approving agendas and the like. This activity level seemed to be a relative variable. Faculty members, coordinators, and deans tended to compare the latters' participation in DGP activities with the deans' involvement in other activities. It appears that when the dean was committed to the DGP mission, his involvement was unusually high in comparison to his involvement in other projects and enterprises. Obviously, situational context and leadership style play a large part in these ratings, but generally a high level of relative activity in DGPs was considered to be very supportive, advocacy behavior.

Integration with the Institutional Mission

Most of the deans were reported to be visible; some were actively involved in the projects; and a few reported a goal of institutionalizing the DGP goals or integrating them with the institution's mission. The deans expressed their commitment to the larger goals, the concept and vision of the education unit, and the university. They viewed the DGPs as a vehicle to achieve that larger goal, and they intended DGP goals to be integrated into the total program. This is a primary criterion of institutionalization: continuation of activity after funding ceases.

The unique ability of the dean to see the total picture and speak to the institutional mission was stressed by Conant (1967).

> The dean is in one of the best positions to consider basic issues with the totality of the college program in mind. The dean knows the structure, personalities of the faculty, and new ideas under discussion. This integrated perspective makes the dean the only individual who can break through inertia and special interests to produce improvements. The dean can choose to be simultaneously bold with some issues and discrete with others. (p. 281)

> Our dean attended the first retreat, and he helped plan it to attract and include key faculty. We planned content broad enough so faculty could find their own interests. Coordinator
>
> The Dean suggested we change the seminar format to better fit our existing programs and the large-range goals of the college. Coordinator
>
> The Dean has been influential in the integration of contents into regular courses; not only special education content but also multicultural content as part of the Teacher Corps Project. Faculty Member

Some deans reported inherent value in their visions of the DGP purposes. They made speeches that stressed the integration of the projects into their total education programs. These deans responded to other external forces for change, such as state certifying agencies and state and federal legislation, and they stressed the role of the DGPs in making the mandated changes. Their comments to faculty members stressed the importance of change to fit the mandates of the laws, and they expressed the importance of involvement by everyone.

Nonsupportive Behaviors

In the review of the field notes, a curious phenomenon that was common to

all the projects visited was discovered. It was difficult enough to identify specific, actual, supportive behaviors by deans but it was even more difficult to elicit information on their nonsupportive behaviors. The interviewer at each site resorted to "creative probing." Questions were phrased hypothetically: "...well, what if a dean was not supportive; what might he do?" Or, questions were posed to except the immediate environment: "...maybe you know other deans in other places who do not support innovation; how do they act?" It should be pointed out that whereas hundreds of supportive behaviors were reported, less than 30 specific nonsupportive behaviors could be identified from the interviews.

In a sense this "speak no evil" phenomenon reinforces the significance of the power of the dean's office. It also may point out a weakness of the methodology--outsiders very well may get a distorted view of reality.

Nonsupportive Deans

Some deans were reported to be too forceful and directive or not strong enough leaders. Some deans played favorites and had "buddies" on the project staff, and other deans were hardly aware of the project at all. Some generalizations about these nonsupportive behaviors seem to be supported by observations and interviews. The nonsupportive behaviors represent the extremes of an extraordinarily wide band of acceptable behavior toward project activities. Also, all the behaviors reported, but especially the nonsupportive ones, are context and personality specific. That is, knowledge about situational context is essential to an understanding of supportiveness or nonsupportiveness.

Erratic or Nonexistent Advocacy. Most nonsupportive behaviors were related to acts of omission. Some deans were "never there" when they were needed, especially during the crucial start-up stages of the project; they did not show support for the project either in person or through communications. Active nonsupportive actions were few.

> The dean will not stand up in front of the total faculty and ask for support of the Dean's Grant. Coordinator
>
> The dean didn't keep faculty members aware of the implications of participation. Faculty Member
>
> The dean did not tell everyone about the grant--he didn't ever talk about the impact of the Dean's Grant from the beginning. Coordinator
>
> The dean made negative comments at a Dean's Council meeting. He said he didn't approve of Saturday conferences because we are all conferenced out. Coordinator
>
> The dean planned a retreat that was not effective because faculty didn't know what was going on. Coordinator

Careless Negotiation and Favoritism. The most consistent nonsupportive behaviors reported related to favoritism or careless negotiation between factions. Factionalism was an especially difficult problem at the seven sites which had special education departments. If the DGP was closely identified with the special educators, the regular education faculty resisted the project's goals and activities unless the dean very carefully choreographed the participation of all faculty groups.

> Some faculty associate the grant with special education or refer to it as "the Dean's personal expense account." Coordinator
>
> The dean's support of positions for the Department of Special Education threatens other departments. Faculty Member
>
> The dean has allowed the grant to be aligned too closely with the special education faculty. Coordinator
>
> Took advice of special education and appointed recent doctoral student as coordinator. Faculty Member
>
> The dean assigned a special ed type as coordinator; even though she has regular education experience, the grant is still associated with special education. Faculty Member
>
> Hiring on an outsider to manage the grant and not building in faculty input was inappropriate. Faculty Member

Favoritism and unfair sharing of rewards generated resentment of the DGP by regular educators.

> Some faculty members feel that funds were allocated based on favoritism. Faculty Member
>
> Our previous Dean's Grant was a rip-off. The previous dean used the money to pay for his trips and speaking engagements; the faculty never saw the benefits. Faculty Member
>
> The dean's rewards for bringing in grants are too strong. There should be some rewards for working on the instructional program and service. Faculty Member

In sum, deans who are politically insensitive to factions, who are inept at allocating resources equitably, and who are perceived to "play favorites" were perceived as overstepping the bounds of acceptable behavior.

Heavy-handed Persuasion. This category of nonsupportive behaviors is especially interesting because it is so dependent on the dean's leadership

style. Several faculty members described committees that were advisory in name only, and deans who were "open minded with blind spots," meaning that they accepted advice only to a point or that they could not be convinced on certain issues. Strangely, these behaviors were not seen as unsupportive in all cases. Given that context and personality are the key to understanding, consistency of behavior is the key variable. Advisory Councils who know that their role is an advisory one and not policy making, and a dean's predictable and consistent "blind spots" may be regarded as neutral or even supportive in some cases. It is the erratic behaviors that are regarded as inexplicable and hence nonsupportive.

One dean was carried away by his plans for the future and shocked a faculty meeting and the DGP staff with a "bombshell" of new demands. The unpredictability of this dean and his heavy-handed persuasion of faculty members to participate did much damage to the DGP on this occasion.

> The dean was open to discussion on some ideas, but he played the "I want it" (pounding his fist) role quite often. Faculty Member
>
> The dean needs to be aware we've reached the saturation point on mainstreaming. Faculty Member

Persuasion is an act that must be fine tuned to fit situation and personal style. If actions that are meant to persuade are perceived as too directive, inauthentic, heavy handed, or out of character, they are no longer persuasive.

Carelessness and Thoughtlessness. Among the behaviors that were highly related to personal style was the lack of social support and thanks for hard work. Faculty members and coordinators told us of a few instances of deans' thoughtlessness, aloofness, and even rudeness.

> Sometimes the dean does not do the "little things," like meeting in my office or complimenting me. Faculty Member
>
> The dean does not compliment people often enough. Faculty Member
>
> The dean runs roughshod over the director. Faculty Member
>
> The dean takes a standoffish position toward project staff and faculty. Faculty Member
>
> The dean lacks a personal touch when working with project staff and faculty. Faculty Member
>
> The dean does not reward faculty who are participating enough. Faculty Member

Unclear Roles--Unfair Division of Labor. DGPs were variously organized to divide the labor. Deans, project coordinators, and advisory and planning committees carried out the planning, management, and activities of the project. The key factor seems to be not who does what or even how much of what, but whether people understand who is doing what. Unclear roles and unfair division of labor often were reported to be nonsupportive behaviors.

> The dean relies too heavily on the project coordinator. Faculty Member
>
> There was no advisory committee. Faculty Member
>
> The dean didn't work enough with the coordinator, so the Dean's Grant presentation was not clear. Faculty Member
>
> There was little faculty involvement in proposal writing. Faculty Member
>
> The dean should delegate out proposal writing, not do it himself. Faculty Member
>
> The dean is too involved in the day-to-day stuff. Faculty Member
>
> The dean does more initiating than implementing. He's weak at follow through. Coordinator
>
> The dean relies too much on the coordinator to make the grant successful. Coordinator

In sum, most nonsupportive behaviors reflected a dean's simple inconsistency, carelessness, and thoughtlessness. A few behaviors were direct and actively nonsupportive, but not many were reported. It is likely that the "power of the office" protects the dean from overt criticism and, further, that the deans manifest an extraordinarily wide band of behaviors that usually are perceived as supportive.

Analysis of Results:

Toward an Operational Definition of Advocacy

This study had two objectives, both related to the topic of administrative advocacy. They were (a) to "operationalize" the definition of advocacy by gathering instances of actual, observed behaviors of deans who supported the purposes of DGPs and (b) to categorize those behaviors according to a framework of behaviors which are seen as supportive of change. This systematic approach, it seemed, would lead to an operational definition of advocacy.

A subsidiary purpose of this study was to compare research findings from

the different contexts of public schools and higher education settings. Because most studies of change that were reviewed were carried out in public school settings, it was hoped to add further insights into administrative advocacy by examining its manifestations in the milieu of institutions of higher education.

The results suggest that advocacy should be examined both descriptively (describing the roles that advocates take) and qualitatively (describing the individuals' intensity of involvement).

Descriptions of Advocacy Roles

The site visits revealed that some deans must negotiate with competing environmental factions, both internally and externally. Deans who persuaded faculty members to become involved in DGP activities used personal and "power of the office" persuasion, and even allowed colleagues to persuade in their names. Finally, some deans successfully choreographed change, coaching, directing, and overseeing casts of characters according to their particular situations. These roles of Negotiator, Persuader, and Choreographer of Change are described in the literature that was reviewed and are supported by the data collected. Although, clearly, the roles do not comprise all the various activities that are undertaken by deans, they are sufficient for this discussion because they are the roles deans play as project directors of Deans' Grants. Thus they form one dimension of an operational definition of advocacy.

Intensity of Involvement

The first and most essential category in this dimension is Being There. This is a ceremonial sort of presence; it can take the form of the dean's personal attendance at project activities or the dean's signature on written communiques, or the use of the dean's stationery. Granted that this sort of advocacy does not indicate involvement, nevertheless it is absolutely essential for deans if they are to be perceived as advocates.

When deans took an active and informed role in project activities, they were in the second category of intensity: Active/Informed Involvement. It includes behaviors like learning a new technical language of special education, volunteering for duties, and volunteering supportive comments on grant activities.

A few deans took an integrated view of project activities. This level, Integration With Institutional Mission, goes beyond support of the relatively narrow scope of project activities. Deans are at this stage when they report a great valuing of the central concept of Dean's Grant Projects --reorganization of teacher education to enable graduates to accommodate the needs of all children--and when they express the desire to use the project as a vehicle to achieve this large goal. In other words, they both advocate and try to integrate the central concept of DGPs into the larger institutional

Table 1

Two Dimensions of Advocacy

ADVOCACY ROLES	"Being There" 35% of total	ADVOCACY INTENSITIES Active Informed Involvement 56% of total	Integration with Institutional Mission 9% of total
Negotiator Role 27% total reported role behaviors	Dean as Project Director--signing the grant.	Calling BEH to negotiate funding.	Developing alternative funding sources to kee grant goals going when funding ceases.
	Dean's Grant clearly operates from dean's office. Physical location of coordinator's office. 6%	"Legitimizing" the coordinator as mouthpiece of the dean, rather than of special education at faculty presentations. 19%	Dean's Grant activitie integrated with other activities, joint and cooperative seminars. 2
Persuader Role 34% total reported role behaviors	Dean's physical presence at seminars, retreats and Dean's Grant activities.	Making a Dean's Grant presentation at faculty meeting or larger university meeting.	Presentations stress common purpose of Dean Grant and institutiona goal.
	Countersigning memos.	Writing supportive memos.	Scholarly writing; Dean's Column in newsletter.
	Dean attends national Dean's Grant conference. 15%	Dean takes active part in national role, is visibly part of Dean's Grant Network bringing in speakers, etc. 17%	Dean is active in stat wide efforts at teache education reform. Dea becomes recognized adv cate for the handicapp 2
Choreographer of Change 40% total reported role behaviors	Role clarity--clear expectations of who does what.	Active participation in planning--volunteering services--actually writing a learning module, or participating in video-taping.	Striving for integrati with larger goals at administrative council meetings.
	Most involved in start-up stage--then delegation.	Active involvement in ongoing planning.	Grant resources used for larger goals--secretarial module development--reorganization
			Suggesting changes in seminar format to better integrate with existing schedule. 4
	15%	21%	

NOTE: The percentages refer to the frequency of advocacy behaviors in each category; 225 separate advocacy behaviors were reported.

mission, thereby assuring the permanent institutionalization of the concept. This level is the highest intensity of advocacy behavior.

The descriptive and qualitative characteristics of advocacy do not seem to be mutually exclusive. Rather, the two dimensions overlap and intersect, as Table I illustrates. In order to provide an estimate of frequency of occurrence, percentages are included in each box of the matrix. They refer to the percentage of the 225 reported behaviors that fit in each category. For example 40% of all reported behaviors fit the "Choreographer of Change" role, 15%, the "being there" level, 21%, "active/informed involvement," and 4%, the integration with institutional mission level.

Conclusions

This study is a first step toward understanding how deans support curriculum change in institutions of higher education. The findings reveal striking similarities in deans' behaviors across and within such institutions.

At each site visited deans and faculty members cooperated and facilitated the investigation by sharing information quite openly. At any one site, respondents' reports were amazingly consistent in their characterization of the dean's behavior toward the DGP. The 12 deans in the study were significantly more involved with the DGPs than with other projects and contracts in their institutions. All deans appeared to have the confidence of their faculties. Across sites, faculty members seemed to place high value on knowing what the dean thought of people, issues, and activities in the institution and the individuals who were interviewed seemed to have that information.

1. Deans are more involved in Dean's Grant Projects than thought. Deans did not usually participate directly in the conceptualization and development of curriculum change; those activities remained primarily the province of faculty members but deans manifested many necessary supportive behaviors: bringing together the right group of people, providing released time and other support mechanisms for project activities, and, in general, creating an optimal environment in which the work could be carried out.

Most deans spoke knowledgeably about projects and their goals. Some deans spoke of "institutionalization": the integration of project goals into the curriculum. The 12 deans perceived themselves as advocates of DGPs, performing in at least the minimal Being There role at DGP activities.

2. The "power of the office" is a significant force in advocacy behavior. No matter how inept or invisible a dean appears to be, he still has the power of resource allocation, the overview and authority to negotiate with competing factions, and the final say on policy decisions. Faculty members and DGP coordinators at each site reported that it is essential for the dean to demonstrate ownership and advocacy of the Dean's Grant.

3. Faculty members know what the dean advocates. Respondents almost always could tell us which individuals and programs were supported by the

dean. The pervasiveness of this knowledge was fascinating. Sometimes faculty members measured the dean's favor by office floorspace, sometimes by choice assignments or positive statements in public places. In every site visited there was an underground understanding of what and who the dean favored. Faculty autonomy and collegial decision making notwithstanding, being favored by the dean was important.

4. Deans operate with a wide band of acceptable behaviors. Advocacy and the dean's support are essential yet the spectrum of behaviors perceived as supportive is broad and varied. Hundreds of "advocate" behaviors were reported but respondents were hard pressed to list more than 30 total nonsupportive behaviors related to the Dean's Grant. Often, these nonsupportive behaviors reflected carelessness or omissions; relatively few were actively and directly nonsupportive. Obviously, deans have a great deal of discretion in their behavior. They must act in an extreme manner to be perceived as nonsupportive.

5. The Dean's involvement in DGPs is often paradoxical. Deans lead through persuasion rather than overt direction in matters related to curriculum change, which is traditionally a faculty prerogative. DGPs are a very persuasive vehicle for change--"legitimating" the dean's involvement in curricular reform, as one dean put it. The deans who were interviewed were conceptualizers--usually leaving the day-to-day management of the project to others, yet the dean's advocacy and powers of persuasion were often the essential ingredient to make change happen.

6. Dean's Grant Projects are a fortuitously timed effort when combined with other external forces to change. In virtually all the places visited, respondents reported poor student evaluations, declining enrollments, external agency and state certification changes. Each pressure to change impacts on education dramatically. DGPs are positive forces by providing resources and personnel to upgrade skills and, eventually, produce a more marketable teacher in the job market, one who is prepared to teach a wide range of students, from exceptional learners to the so-called normal child.

7. Dean's Grant Projects provide the widest benefit when combined with other forces. This point reconfirms the benefits of institutionalization. Long-lasting change occurs not by marginal, add on, and short-term efforts but by an integrated approach that combines many separate forces. For instance, a DGP, combined with the goals of a Teacher Corps Grant, and added to the external pressures mentioned previously, can create an extremely powerful force for change. When combined, these forces produce a benefit greater than the simple sums of money involved; they become a synergistic force to stimulate change.

8. Situational context is essential to understanding DGPs. University size and mission, leadership style of the dean, and ability and competence of DGP staff members all impact on a Dean's Grant. Especially important is the

education unit itself, even the conflicts between departments and individuals. A knowledge of many contextual variables is essential to understanding because DGPs must be considered within the institutional context. Given that these grants are so context and personality dependent, the goals, objectives, and activities of DGPs spread across a broad spectrum. This dependency on context raises a problematic aspect: Dean's Grants are just one of a number of forces requiring changes in teacher education today, thus it is difficult to isolate DGP effects from effects caused by certification changes, recent legislation, and other forces for change.

Other Benefits to Deans

Some benefits accrue to deans as a result of Dean's Grant Projects. Earlier in this report I stressed what deans give to a project: advocacy, persuasive powers, negotiating ability, and choreography of the process of change. However, a Dean's Grant Project also can benefit a dean.

1. At the national level. Becoming a member of the Dean's Grant Project Network helps to build linkages and support systems that are important to administrators, such as access to consultants and funding sources. To a new dean, membership in this network makes the transition from "rookie dean" a bit easier.

2. At the state level. Dean's Grant Projects enable deans to focus their efforts at state-wide teacher-education reform. At state meetings, project activities provide visibility for both deans and their institutions.

3. At the university level. Dean's Grant Projects can give deans an institutional purpose and plan to make teacher-education programs more attractive to students, at a time of declining enrollment, and to the institution, at a time of shrinking funds.

4. At the departmental level. Dean's Grant Projects legitimate deans' involvement in a job that must be done: upgrading the skills of faculties and reforming teacher-education curriculum. The norms of higher education are curious. Deans use indirect means of participation in curricular reform, a traditionally faculty controlled endeavor. Dean's Grant Projects seem to provide those means.

5. At the personal level. The general goal of the Dean's Grant program --to train educators to provide an equitable educational opportunity to all children and youth--is appealing and optimistic. It offers another chance to change the world with the necessary funds and planning time.

Suggestions for Future Research

To examine the roles and behaviors of deans in the context of a school or college of education, a form of case study research was used. The results, consequently, are exploratory in nature. Nevertheless, they suggest opportunities for future research.

Investigators might focus on the effect of Dean's Grant Projects in advancing change, perhaps attempting to isolate project effects from other external pressures to change, such as certifying agency requirements, student evaluations, and changing job market demands. The investigation might be done by repeating the present study at a sample of institutions which have not received Deans' Grants.

Other methods might be used to quantify and add to the generalizability of the results reported here. For instance, questionnaires, tests, and other measures could be developed to assess the effect of Dean's Grant Projects and deans who are advocates. Forms of predictive research, such as multiple regression and path analysis techniques, could help to isolate the essential variables that are related to effective change in higher education settings.

Finally, research might focus on a slightly different question: For instance, do deans of sciences or liberal arts behave in the same way toward their faculties as do the deans of education? Do these "academic" deans have the same freedom to facilitate curricular reform as education deans do?

The research reported here must be interpreted with certain cautions. It is subject to certain problems of internal and external validity, as is all case study research. Significant efforts were made to overcome these problems by cross checking sources and striving toward a uniform methodology (see Guba, 1978). The data are not strictly quantifiable nor can they be. Rather, they provide multidimensional descriptions, "thick" descriptions that have depth, are factual, and are alive with detail (Geertz, 1973). The descriptions are intended to clarify and increase understanding of the complicated and diverse settings and roles involved in the Dean's Grant program.

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APPENDIX A -- Dean's Interview Schedule

I. Introductory Comments - Perspective

A. 1. To better understand your Dean's Project, I would like to find out a little about the history of this College/School and where you see it going in the future. (Probe for their concept of problems, issues and missions for the eighties.)

II. Initiation/Mobilization

A. Context/Conditions: I would like to begin by asking you to think back to the beginning of your Dean's Grant Project and get you to answer several questions about your behavior and conditions in the College at that time. (Explain that you will be asking about conditions and behaviors at various stages of the grant, e.g., before the award, during early implementation, full implementation, and toward the end of grant.)

First let's turn to conditions at the beginning stages....

1. How and when did you first hear about the possibilities of getting a Dean's Grant:

2. What were your initial reactions to what you heard.

3. What can you tell me about how things were around here at that time? (Probe for morale, stability, interdepartmental relationships, enrollments, program changes.)

4. Were any factors that you have mentioned important in the formation of your Dean's Grant proposal?

B. Process/Tactics/Strategies

1. What did you do during that time to initiate getting the project funded (Probe for behaviors in relation to proposal writing, contacting the funding agency, helping to conceptualize the project, persuading others to become involved, informing others about the project).

Try to capture answers in the following format.

What--→ When--→ To Whom--→ With What Resources--→ With What Results

2. Paraphrase B-1: How important was your role during this stage.

3. What other individuals were involved at this preliminary stage and what roles did they play?

C. Innovation/Scope of Change: The aims of Dean's Projects have been to assist colleges and universities in the redesign of preservice teacher preparation programs and to help regular teachers work with handicapped children.

1. As your project was taking shape and initial planning was being done, what ideas did you have about change that was needed in programs at your College?

2. Did you try to influence others on the merits of your ideas? If so, how, and with what success?

III. Early Implementation (First three to six months of project)

A. Context/Conditions

1. Again can you tell me about the conditions, climate, and atmosphere around here during the first few weeks/months of the Project? Was there anything different at this stage?

2. Of what you have just told me, was any factor mentioned important to your Project during its early days? In what ways?

B. Processes/Tactics/Strategies

1. What role did you play during the early weeks or months? (Again probe for behaviors such as interaction with the funding agency, choosing a Coordinator, achieving role clarity, identifying needs, persuading others to become involved, making public statements, working on planning teams, etc.)

Try to capture answers in the following format.

What---→ When---→ To Whom---→ With What Resources---→ With What Results

Paraphrase B-1 before proceeding with next questions.

2. How important was your role as principal investigator of the Project at this early implementation stage?

3. What was the role of the Project Coordinator at that time?

C. Innovation/Scope of Change: As you and/or others started to implement the Grant proposal....

1. Did the focus of your Project or the type of change that people started to consider have to be adapted?

2. Did you agree with the change in focus? How much influence did your ideas have on defining the problem and types of solutions provided? (Probe for ownership)

IV. Implementation

Normally, after Projects get going, there is an extended period of time when planning, development and try outs of new programs or ideas occur.

A. Conditions/Context

1. Was there anything that you have not mentioned previously that happened in the College or University that had an impact on the Project? (Probe for problems, e.g., staffing cutbacks, controversy over roles or goals of the Project, staff resistance, etc.)

B. Processes/Tactics/Strategies

1. Can you again tell me what your involvement was during that time? (Probe for day to day involvement plus more long range involvement, the types of problems that had to be solved during this time period.)

Try to capture answers in the following format.

What---> When---> To Whom---> With What Resources---> With What Results

Paraphrase B-1 before proceeding to next question.

2. During that stage how important was your role as principal investigator of the Project?

3. What did you see as the role of the Project Coordinator at this time? What was your relationship? How important?

C. Innovation/Scope of Change

1. Did the Project during this implementation era change the nature of its goals or the types of changes being sought? If so how and why.

V. Institutionalization

A. Processes/Tactics/Strategies: Sometimes, parts of projects like Dean's Grants can be made permanent parts of the ongoing program.

1. Can you tell me what parts of your Project could now be considered permanent? (Probe for types of change in program or organization.)

2. What parts of the Dean's Grant would you like to see as a permanent part of the program?

3. What are the kinds of things you do to facilitate (or stop) these changes?

Try to capture answers in the following format.

What---> When---> To Whom---> With What Resources---> With What Results

4. What could the Coordinator do to facilitate or stop the changes you mentioned above?

5. How important is your role at this stage? What about the Coordinator's role?

VI. Summary of Involvement

A. Consider your total involvement in the Project. Can you identify three incidents that show ways in which you positively contributed to the Project?

B. Could you describe three incidents that show ways that you may have gotten in the way of the Project's success?

C. What would you consider as indicators of success in this project? What outcomes would please you the most?

D. Is your role as Dean important to the success of the Project? If so, why -- are some of the things you do with the Project more important than others? Please identify those of greatest importance.

E. Do you know other Deans that have had Dean's Grants? From what you have heard, what are the ways in which they helped or hindered the Project?

F. Is your relationship to the Dean's Grant different than the relationship you have with other grants? (Difference between grants, contracts; ownership in outcomes.)

VII. Conclusion/Context

To conclude, can you tell me a bit about yourself? How did you get where you are? Do you find this job rewarding? What are your goals for the future?

(Contextual reminders - academic background, previous positions in and out of higher education, professional organizations, offices held, years as dean.)

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Using Structure, Action, and Power to Make Teacher Preparation Responsive to Public Law 94-142

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ABSTRACT: Organizational design and change efforts in teacher-preparation institutions should focus on the shaping of three media: (a) forums, which distribute and redistribute access to the communication of meaning, (b) arenas, which distribute and redistribute access to the exercise of power, and (c) courts, which distribute access to legitimacy. Support for this argument is based on the relation of power to social interaction and social structure and, especially, on Anthony Giddens's theory of structuration, which provides a way to directly link interaction with structure.

Given the nature of teacher-preparation institutions, it is unwise or impossible to control precisely the internal interactions or structures. What can be controlled however, at least by the dominant coalition, are the media; controlling them shapes what (a) are admissible as decision items, (b) count as issues, (c) are allowable as conflicts, and (d) are legitimate policy preferences.

Two conceptual problems are particularly crucial to understanding organizational design and change in teacher-preparation institutions. One is the role of power, the other, the connection between social interaction and social structure.

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1. I agree with Giddens (1979) and Pfeffer (1981) that power has not been granted the central position it should have in conceptualizations of stabilization and change in organizational and social systems such as teacher-preparation institutions (see also Bryson & Kelley, 1978). This omission may reflect, on the one hand, a rationalist bias in organizational research and, on the other, our disturbing and uneasy feelings when we confront power as a concept and fact of life. We know it's there, and "real," but often we wish that it were not.

2. Unfortunately, most organizational analysis to date has focused on social interaction or social structure, not on both (Van de Ven & Astley, 1981); hence it is impossible to account adequately for persistence and change in teacher-preparation institutions or the societies that support them. Furthermore, the failure to attend to both makes it impossible to address adequately the central role of power in such persistence and change.

The proper focus for organizational design and change efforts is the connections between social interaction and social structure. The links between the two, according to my reworking of Giddens's theory of structuration (1976, 1977, 1979), are (a) forums, which distribute and redistribute access to the communication of meaning, (b) arenas, which distribute and redistribute access to the exercise of power, and (c) courts, which distribute and redistribute access to legitimacy. By altering any of these three media, the emerging social interaction patterns (decisions, issues, conflicts, and policy preferences) are also altered. In turn, the interaction patterns recreate altered forums, arenas, and courts and change the underlying social structures. The latter, in their turn, play a basic role in recreating the forums, arenas, and courts, and interactions. This argument is elaborated in a subsequent section.

I assume here that teacher-preparation institutions (and educational institutions generally) can be characterized by the political model of organizations, the one organizational model in which power is accorded a central role (Pfeffer, 1981). The reasonableness of this assumption is supported by, for example, Baldridge (1971) and Salancik and Pfeffer (1974). Fitting the political model of organizations to teacher-preparation institutions does not imply some Hobbesian world of constant contention; instead, it simply makes explicit an aspect of life in such institutions that most of us do not dispute, even as we may regret its presence.

The political model of organizations includes the following elements (Pfeffer, 1981): fairly consistent goals and preferences in the social actors (e.g., individuals, coalitions, units, divisions), but inconsistent and pluralistic goals and preferences in the organization as a whole. In fact, the organization--the teacher-education institution--is made up of shifting coalitions of faculty members and interest groups. The free play within a "political" or "academic" market place, or if one prefers, "market place of

ideas," results in legitimate and expected struggle, conflict, and winners and losers. People use and withhold information strategically. They hold consistent sets of beliefs about the connections between actions and outcomes (i.e., technology relations, broadly conceived) which often become ideological in character. Not surprisingly, the social actors may disagree about action-outcome relations. Given the discord among shifting coalitions and interest groups, the decision process often appears to be disorderly. Decisions, we know, are achieved by negotiation, bargaining, and interplay among interest groups.

An important feature of the political model of organizations is that it appears to be applicable to interorganizational networks. Van de Ven, Emmett, and Koenig (1974) and Laumann, Galaskiewicz, and Marsden (1978), for example, emphasized the inherently political nature of most interorganizational networks. White (1974), for one, argued that separate conceptualizations for organizational and interorganizational networks are unnecessary if one focuses on decision making, which, indeed, this paper does. The general applicability of the model to both intra- and interorganizational networks is worth noting because teacher-preparation organizations are embedded in interorganizational networks that comprise academic affiliates, clinical teaching facilities, state departments of education, sister institutions, alumni organizations, and so forth.

In recent years the usefulness of a political perspective from which to examine organizations, and especially educational institutions, has become apparent. This perspective is most useful when groups in organizations are interdependent, must share resources, and thus, must engage in joint decision making (Tushman, 1977). In such cases, intraorganizational politics "involves those activities taken within organizations to acquire, develop, and use power and other resources to obtain one's preferred outcomes in a situation in which there is uncertainty or dissensus about choices" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 7). The extension of these arguments to interorganizational politics is obvious.

A political perspective appears to be most suitable at present to view organizations (and networks of organizations) in which the members play a key part in decision making. In most teacher-preparation institutions, the members--the faculty--play this role.

In the remainder of this chapter, power is discussed first; an understanding of the nature of power in teacher-education institutions is essential to grasp the importance of forums, arenas, and courts. From this discussion of power we are led naturally to considering the interrelations of human action and organizational structure, the interrelations that are illuminated by Giddens's theory of structuration. From the discussions of power and structuration, we move logically to examining the central role of the three media in the design and change of political organizations. To conclude the chapter, I illustrate the use of power, structuration, and media to institute change in

Level of Analysis	View of Power
Social Interaction	One-Dimensional View of Power Focus on (a) behavior (b) decision making (c) (key) issues (d) observable (overt) conflict (e) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation
Modality (Mode, medium, or method)	Two-Dimensional View of Power Qualified critique of behavioral focus Focus on (a) decision making and nondecision making (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) conflict (d) (subjective) interests seen as policy preferences or grievances
Social Structure	Three-Dimensional View of Power Critique of behavioral focus Focus on (a) decision making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions) (b) issue and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict (d) subjective and "real" interests (e) iconic theorizing (f) production and reproduction of social life

Fig. 1. The three dimensions of power. Adapted in part from Clegg (1975, p. 78, 1979, p. 99); Giddens (1976, p. 122); and Lukes (1974, p. 25).

a hypothetical college of education.

Power

Power merits close examination because it plays a central role in the political model of organizational decision making. Most research on power reported in the organizational and management literature has focused on observable social interactions and on how differences in power at this level explain differences in outcomes, for example, on how power effects budget outcomes (Hills & Mahoney, 1978, Pfeffer & Salancik, 1974), organizational designs (Pfeffer, 1978), and executive succession (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Zald, 1965). Far less research has attended to the rules and modes of rationality underlying the exercise of power in social interactions, for example, in political (Wildavsky, 1979) or quasi-market interactions (Williamson, 1975). Still less research has focused on the social structures that generate these mediating rules and modes of rationality (cf. Clegg, 1979; Pfeffer, 1981). For example, few investigators have considered how bureaucratic, market or preceptoral (persuasion) systems (Lindblom, 1977) create rules or modes of rationality (i.e., bureaucratic, economic, or ideologically based rationality, respectively); and, in turn, how these mediating rules and modes of rationality guide and shape decisions observed at the level of social interaction (see Fig. 1).

The understanding of how power may affect changes in teacher preparation can be enhanced by examining the debates on community power in the political science and sociology literatures of the 1960s and 1970s. These debates, which explored the nature of power in urban communities, highlight the importance of incorporating all three dimensions (social interaction, rules and modes of rationality, and social structure) into any thorough discussion of power and its relation to decision making in teacher-preparation institutions. Knowledge of the debates is particularly useful here because they centered on definitional and conceptual problems related to decision making in political organizations and networks of political organizations.

First, however, we must look at how power is conceived for purposes of this paper. Power may be defined as a relational concept in which actors' capabilities are used in interactions to secure outcomes through the actions of others (cf. Giddens, 1979). This definition implies no logical connection between power and will, as in Weber's (1947) formulation[1] (see End Notes), or among motivation, intentions, interests, or wanting, which may seem odd, at first. Power basically implies merely an ability to do or to act, that is, merely tranformative capacity (Webster's, 1973). Thus, power is tied logically to human action but not to will, motivation, intentions, interests, or wanting. (When these notions are linked to power they denote particular ranges in the use of power as a concept.) Our unusually broad conception of power facilitates discussion of the role of power in linking "macro" and

"micro," system and subsystem, and "deterministic" and "voluntaristic" elements in the design and change of teacher-preparation institutions.

The First Debate

The first community power debate essentially was between Floyd Hunter and Robert Dahl. Hunter defined power as "the ability of men to command the services of other men; that is, to move other men to act in relation to themselves or in relation to organic or inorganic things (Berry & Hanson, 1976, p. 4; Hunter, 1953, pp. 2-4). Dahl (1961) defined power by the more familiar relation: "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that he would not otherwise do" (p. 201).[2]

It is true that the two definitions are quite similar but the authors operate from different ideological bases, have used different research methodologies, and, not surprisingly, have reached different conclusions on the nature of power in American communities. What was cause and what effect in determining their different definitions, ideologies, methodologies, and conclusions are not clear.

Hunter based his work on a set of postulates in addition to his definition.[3] This set of postulates, and the notion of the covert exercise of power, led him to use a reputational technique to identify a "community power structure." He found that such a structure existed, and that it was composed of a relatively small cohesive group of wealthy individuals. These findings supported an elitist interpretation of American politics.

Dahl, along with Polsby, Wolfinger, and other pluralists, asserted that reputation is not a good indicator of power, and that a decision-analysis technique should be used. "How can one tell, after all, whether or not an actor is powerful unless some sequence of events, competently observed, attests to his power?" (Polsby, 1963, p. 60). Decision analysis led the pluralists to conclude that different actors hold power in the resolution of different issues; that there are several bases of power other than high social position; that there is some substitutability among power bases; and, therefore, that American society is pluralist rather than elitist (Berry & Hanson, 1976; Dahl, 1961).

The debate has not been resolved; the two techniques--reputational and decision analyses--remain the basic techniques in community power studies (Berry & Hanson, 1976; Domhoff, 1978). One reason for this lack of resolution, no doubt, is the debate's ideological ramifications and the difficulties in determining to what extent ideology has influenced the researchers' conclusions.

The Second Debate

A second major debate was sparked by the argument that the decision-analysis technique overlooks non-decisions, a term coined by Bachrach and

Baratz (1962). A non-decision is the decision by a human actor not to participate politically in the resolution of some issue affecting him or her in a "subjective" or "real" way.[4] Because some people do not participate, the decisions made are in all likelihood biased decisions, different from those decisions that would have occurred if all affected parties had participated in the resolution of the issue (i.e., had there been no non-decisions). Critics of the decision-analysis technique, therefore, attack the behavioral bias that is embedded in the decision-analysis technique.

Put differently, because the decision-analysis technique focuses on preferred outcomes that are expressed through political participation (behavior), the preferred outcomes of nonparticipants are ignored because they are not expressed behaviorally. Users of the decision-analysis technique, consequently, make the unwarranted assumption that if people do not participate, either they have no preferences or their preferences are of low intensity. In other words, nonparticipants are assigned to a "zone of indifference" (Barnard, 1962). The assumption, however, ignores alternative explanations of nonparticipation: People simply may not know how to participate; they may see the cards as too stacked against them (e.g., junior or short-term contract faculty members or students); or they may not understand the issue's significance for them. However, people may not participate because they think the issue will be resolved to their satisfaction without their participation.

Causing other people to make non-decisions actually is an important exercise of power. Bachrach and Baratz noted, "To the extent that a person or group--consciously or unconsciously--creates or reinforces barriers to the public airing of policy conflicts, that person has power" (1962, pp. 121-22), that is, that person or group has power by creating categories of non-decisions for other persons. The power is in so shaping a situation that some persons or groups decide not to participate in the resolution of certain issues--or not to raise certain issues--even though doing so may be in their best interests.[5]

At this point Bachrach and Baratz (1962) explicitly invoked Schattschneider's (1960, p. 71) notion of "organization as the mobilization of bias." All organizations have such biases and, consequently, decision and non-decision categories, and "live" issue categories versus what must remain, at least for a time, "potential" issue categories.[6] The bias has the effect of creating rules or modes of rationality that "rule out" certain behaviors which, therefore, are observed only by their absence. For example, in order to survive, presumably all teacher-preparation institutions must generate a certain amount of income from student tuition and fees, legislative appropriations, endowments, research grants, and the like. A rule of economic survival--if not actual economic rationality--can be assumed, therefore, to underlie much of the institutions' economically relevant behaviors and economically suicidal behavior can be ruled out. If the organization persists, the presence

of actual economically suicidal behavior is a rare exception to the rule.

Non-decisions are directly related to another exercise of power, "rule by anticipated reactions," a term coined by Friedrich (1937). It refers to the control of people's behavior through their expectations of what will happen to them if they do not behave as they suppose they should. For example, faculty members may obey institutional rules not because they think the rules are right but because they anticipate punishment if they disobey the rules. The important point is that a "power holder" who rules by anticipated reactions need do nothing observable to assure compliance. In such instances it would be hard to argue that the exercise of power has not occurred.

Lukes (1974) called these two views of power "one dimensional" (i.e., the behavioral focus) and "two dimensional" (i.e., the qualified critique of the behavioral focus). (See Fig. 1.) His "one dimensional view" focuses on behavior, key issues, observable (overt) conflict, and subjectively held interests which are seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation. The "two dimensional view," he argued, constitutes a qualified critique of the behavioral focus and focuses on decision making and non-decision making, issues and potential issues, observable (overt or covert) conflict, and subjectively held interests seen as policy preferences or grievances (Lukes, 1974, p. 25). (In a subsequent section it is argued that the level of modality consists of a set of rules and modes of rationality that divide the set of potential decisions, issues, conflicts and policy preferences into the actual set that will be addressed, on the one hand, and into another set that will remain non-decisions, potential issues, suppressed conflicts, and grievances, on the other hand.)

The Third Debate

Lukes (1974) found the two-dimensional view to be inadequate; he opened a third important debate. His argument was three pronged: (a) Attention to non-decision making does not transcend the behavioral paradigm. "Decisions (and non-decisions) are choices consciously and intentionally made by individuals between alternatives, whereas the bias of the system can be mobilized, recreated and reinforced in ways that are neither consciously chosen nor the intended result of particular individuals' choices" (p. 21). (b) The two-dimensional view is limited to associating power with actual, observable conflict, albeit, perhaps, covert conflict. Lukes noted that Bachrach and Baratz (1970, pp. 20-21) thus consciously ruled out a consideration of authority and manipulation as forms of power. This is a serious failing. (c) Again, Lukes noted that Bachrach and Baratz confined non-decision making to situations in which grievances are not issues in political arenas. Hence, the empirical possibility of "real" as opposed to subjectively held interests is ruled out by definition.[7] In other words, grievances are still consciously held and therefore are subjective and intended.

Lukes's (1974, p. 25) "three dimensional view of power" thus, is a far more thorough critique of the behavioral focus than Bachrach and Baratz offered because it embraces decision making, non-decision making, and control over the political agenda (not necessarily through decisions); issues and potential issues; observable (overt and covert) conflict and latent conflict; and subjectively held and real interests.[8]

Unfortunately, Clegg (1979) pointed out, Lukes betrayed an individualist and positivist bias (or, more precisely, a classical liberal bias [Bryson, 1977]) when he defined the difference between subjectively held and "real" interest. "Real" interests for Lukes consist of voluntary (uncoerced) choices by individuals made under conditions of adequate information. Further, Lukes (1974) contended that "the identification of those interests always rests on empirically supportable and refutable hypotheses" (pp. 24-25). The difficulty is that Lukes's approach fails to consider prior manipulations of individuals' cognitions or attitudes (consciousness); they are important because of their effect on determining what individuals' "voluntary," "uncoerced" choices are.

Although he contributed important insights to the conceptualization of power, Lukes limited unnecessarily the advance of a critical approach to power by his definition of "real" interests. Thus he made the question of power essentially empirical. Such limitations are not without consequence. Clegg (1979, p. 59) noted,

> Debates about the concept of power are not only empirical--about differing interpretations of data--but are more especially theoretic. They are theoretic in precisely the ways in which, in talking about power, the theory is power. Theory is a way of constituting social order in discourse, by making that discourse that discourse, something specific and rule-bound, rather than any discourse.

Giddens's (1976) emphasis on the importance of signification through language, and especially legitimation through normative and moral means, plus Clegg's (1975) emphasis on the directly related concept of iconic theorizing, provide an avenue to transcending the limits of Lukes's individualistic, positivistic conception of power. (Signification and legitimation are discussed in the next section of the paper.)

Iconic Theorizing

Clegg (1975, pp. 77-78) asserted that in order for us humans to make sense out of what we do and see, we must make comparisons with "icons" that embody our conception of "good, sensible, and intelligent practice." In other words, we see some matrix of human activity that has point, purpose, and regularity, but we discern them only by the way people orient themselves toward some ideal (icon) of what constitutes good, sensible, and intelligent

practice. To paraphrase Kant, a conception of an ideal precedes any perception of ideal or nonideal activity. The ideal of normalization (Wolfensberger, 1972) is such an icon.

Clegg's use of the term "icon" is unfortunate because of its religious connotation. Yet the term has certain advantages: (a) It emphasizes Clegg's point about the essentially theoretic (that is, ultimately unknowable) nature of all debates about power. (b) Use of the term certainly helps to break the discussion of power out of what traditionally has been an individualistic and positivistic framework. To minimize the disadvantages and capitalize on the advantages of the term, however, it probably is useful to distinguish between religious and secular icons. In an increasingly secular age (the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the Moral Majority in the United States notwithstanding), we use increasingly secular icons to determine what constitutes good, sensible, and intelligent practice. In the case of education, "mainstreaming," perhaps, has achieved the status of a secular icon, joining such ideas as free public education, local control of public schools, and land grant universities.

The point of discussing iconic theorizing in relation to Lukes is that there are several iconic forms against which "real" interests may be evaluated (cf. Mitnick, 1976; Bryson, 1977). The inclusion of an array of iconic forms provides the dimension missing from Lukes's (1974) third dimension of power. He anchored his third dimension with one category--an individualistic and positivist category--when more categories are needed to give that third dimension its full meaning for a critical approach to power.

An even more serious shortcoming of Lukes's limitation, according to Giddens (1979, pp. 89-91), is apparent when one realizes that his third dimension of power is not in fact tied to social structure. It consists of individuals, not social structures, and, therefore, suppresses the importance of underlying social structures that provide the generative rules and resources to allow organizations, coalitions, and individuals to survive in the first place, whether in "biased" form or not (Giddens, 1979). Social structures in this sense are discussed in the next section.[9] For now, suffice it to note that the third dimension of power, properly conceived, corresponds to the level of social structure. Social structure, seen as generative rules and resources, provides the collective (not individual) basis of a potential set of decisions, issues, conflicts, and policy preferences which might be addressed. Rules and modes of rationality, which also have a structured basis, then influence the transformation of that set into what will actually be addressed and what will not.

Only by including social interaction, intervening rules and modes of rationality (which create decision and non-decision categories), and underlying social structures can one gain a full understanding and explanation of the workings of power in society generally and in teacher-preparation

institutions particularly. Any adequate approach to power and teacher-preparation institutions should incorporate these three dimensions in order to include decision, non-decisions, and the structures within which decisions and non-decisions are made.

Structuring Organizational Structures

Two different perspectives on organizational structure have pervaded the literature (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). In one, structure is viewed as a prescribed framework for the organization, which is impersonal in its constraints. Attention is focused on the formal configuration of tasks, roles, positions, and organizational subunits; the formulation and formalization of rules and procedures; and the prescriptions of authority. This tradition has been strongly influenced by Weber's (1947) work on bureaucracy. Extensions and replications of Weber's work are apparent in the work of Blau and Schoenherr (1971), Child (1972, 1977), Hage and Aiken (1967), Hall (1977), Meyer (1972), Mintzberg (1979), and Pugh, Hickson, Hinings, and Turner (1968, 1969).

The purpose of frameworks for organizations is to achieve more calculable and predictable control of behavior and effectiveness. Much of the research in this tradition has shown explanatory (casual) connections between variations in formal structural features and organizational behavior and effectiveness.

The second tradition views structure as patterned regularities in social interaction. The interactions of real human actors are examined as they create organizational structures (patterned regularities in interaction). The focus is on human action, in contrast to the impersonal constraint of the framework tradition. Obvious shortcomings in the Weberian notion of bureaucracy as a formal and impersonal order prompted work on the second tradition. Scholarly studies of real human actors have demonstrated that formal frameworks, although helpful, do not easily accommodate the realized or emergent activities of human actors as they displace goals, amplify roles, subvert rules (Blau, 1955; Crozier, 1964; Selznick, 1947), create meaning (Douglas, 1971; Garfinkel, 1967), or cope with the seemingly arbitrary or irrational connections among problems, solutions, and participants that result from extremely loose connections between formal structural prescriptions and practical human activity (March & Olsen, 1976; Pfeffer, 1981; Weick, 1976). Research in the second tradition rightly has emphasized interpretive (historical-hermeneutic) approaches in which attempts are made to understand meaning, reasons, motivations, and intentions (Habermas, 1973).

Giddens (1976, 1977, 1979), in particular, demonstrated the possibility of unifying these two nominally opposed perspectives on organizational structures through his theory of structuration (see Fig. 2). The theory is a potential avenue to understanding and explaining the production and reproduction

Level of Analysis	Analytic Components*		
	The Communication of Meaning	The Exercise of Power (seen as transformative capacity)	The Evaluation of Conduct
INTERACTION	Communication	Power	Morality/ Sanction
MODALITY (i.e., mode or medium)	Interpretive Scheme	Capability (i.e., "Facility")	Norm
STRUCTURE --organizational --interorganizational --societal	Signification (i.e., linguistic rules and resources, Weltanschauung)	Domination (i.e., unequally distributed resources)	Legitimation (i.e., moral or evaluative rules, icons)

*These components are only analytically separable.

Fig. 2. Structures as constitutive of, and constituted by, interaction. Adapted from Giddens (1976, p. 122; 1977, p. 132; 1979, p. 82).

of social life as the historically (temporally) and contextually grounded, active (creative) accomplishment of human agents, whose activities are guided and shaped by social structures, and whose activities, at the same time, re-create those social structures. According to the theory, structures are both constitutive of social interaction, and, at the same time, constituted by social interaction. Structures thus do not "do" anything in the way that human actors might; they impersonally shape the activities of human agents and, in turn, are created and recreated by human agents as a product of social interaction.[10]

Although it is not emphasized by Giddens, the theory of structuration enables the linking of organizational and interorganizational structures to broader societal structures. Interactions create and recreate organizational or interorganizational structures as well as broader societal structures. For example, teacher-preparation institutions play a role in creating and maintaining the current system of American public and private education; and education affects basic income and occupational distribution, status hierarchies, bases of political influence, and so on. In other words, teacher-preparation institutions help to "decide" epiphenomenally many basic social issues. In turn, the broader social structural properties of the United States help to shape the social interactions--including those in teacher-preparation institutions--which epiphenomenally create and recreate the national social structure.

Giddens argued that three basic components of social life are involved in structuration: communication of meaning, in which signification plays the basic generative role; exercise of power (seen as transformative capacity), in which domination plays the crucial role; and evaluation of conduct, in which legitimation is the underlying generative element. The three components are only analytically separable. In any real situation they interpenetrate to a significant degree. At the same time, because every cognitive and moral order is part of a system of power relations, imbalances in communication and morality reflect imbalances in power (Giddens, 1976).

Signification

Language, whether verbal, mathematical, or other, is the principal means of human signification, especially the communication of meaning. By examining the relation of structuration to language we can see how important aspects of structuration work more generally.

English, like all spoken languages, has a structure (vocabulary, rules of grammar, syntax, and sentence and paragraph formation) which is learned by all English speakers; thus we are able to communicate with each other in social interactions. We are able to communicate because of the existence of intersubjectively held interpretive schemes that mediate between the structure of English and communication in English. We also depend upon interpretive schemes to make our organizational worlds meaningful. In the process of

communicating and creating and recreating interpretive schemes, generations of English speakers have kept the language alive with only minor changes in its structure over the centuries. The test is that hundreds of years after Shakespeare's death, English speakers still can read his plays with understanding.

Domination

Structures of domination derive from unequally distributed resources. Principal social structures of domination in the world are market, bureaucratic, and preceptoral (ideological) (Lindblom, 1977). These structures are drawn upon by social actors when they try to get other actors to comply with their wants through the exercise of power in social interaction. Group or organizational capabilities are generated by unequally distributed resources. For example, at the group level, unequally distributed resources cause some coalitions to have smarter, better educated, more skillful, and more energetic members with larger budgets, more discretion, and wider contact networks, and one is likely to become a "dominant coalition." On the organizational level, some teacher-preparation institutions have more "slack," greater "market shares," a better cadre of personnel, more secure funding, "cutting edge" technologies, and so forth. The exercise of power, by drawing on group or organizational capabilities, recreates structures of domination with only (usually) minor changes through time. For example, all things considered, the relative rankings of teacher-preparation institutions in general do not change dramatically from year to year or even from decade to decade. On a larger scale, the United States emerged as a major world power around 1900 and has remained so ever since.

Legitimation

Saying that an action is legitimate implies widespread acceptance that it is based on and consistent with an important set of basic values. The values, such as justice, equity, or merit, must be seen as beyond the immediate manipulation of the participants. Typically, the values are rooted in religion, philosophy, or deep social traditions, not improvised to fit some situation. However, if someone claims an action is legitimate, then the implication is that the action may be morally suspect. Legitimacy, therefore, is a crucial component of social life generally and of political organizations particularly, precisely because every exercise of power--and especially those requiring elaborate justifications--is morally suspect. To the extent that actions may be justified and defended or rationalized before they are taken, legitimacy is enhanced, even if the conduct itself is not ideal (Lowi, 1976).

Structures of legitimation (i.e., deep-seated moral or evaluative rules) are drawn upon by social actors when they attempt to evaluate (i.e.,

reflexively monitor) and sanction conduct. The very existence of the moral or evaluative rules (structures of legitimation) can generate evaluations. For example, one property of the legitimation structures of all societies is the rule of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1961); we see it in operation when salaries for new faculty members are under negotiation. The norms underlying equitable exchange in interaction or "fair market value" in such negotiations can be traced to the rule of reciprocity. The evaluation and moral sanctioning of conduct in interaction, by drawing on norms, recreates those norms and the underlying structures of legitimation. For example, as norms or laws favoring equitable exchange and defining "fair market value" are enforced, the underlying legitimation structure--in this case, the deep rule of reciprocity--is recreated. The persistence of this rule over time is one of the remarkable features of all human societies. When this rule is broken, the break is a rare exception.

Forums, Arenas, and Courts

The political model of organizations emphasizes contest and conflict among coalitions. The disputes are fueled by the divergent interpretive schemes, differential capabilities, and, often, competing or contradictory norms held by the various groups. Anyone wishing to affect the contest and conflict in some way would do well to apply Giddens's model relating interaction and social structure; when the model is modified appropriately it can illuminate how the communication of meaning occurs, power is exercised, and conduct is evaluated. I modify the model by adding the concepts of forums, arenas, and courts.

Forums. The medium for the expression and intersubjective understanding of, and competition among, alternative interpretive schemes in the political model of organizations is the forum. Standard definitions emphasize the role of formal or informal forums as mediums for the discussion of practical matters in which, often, those "in authority" are the discussants (Webster's, 1973). Organizational examples of forums range from informal dyadic encounters at the water cooler to Dean's Grant Project team meetings to formal debates in faculty meetings.

Forums play their central role in mediating between signification and communication by distributing and redistributing access to communication, that is, by shaping the interpretive schemes of underlying communication. For example, few if any forums exist in most teacher-preparation institutions for advocating complete parental authority over the instruction provided children. There are, however, numerous forums for the discussion of teaching methods, student performance evaluation, faculty development needs and procedures, and so forth. In other words, the forums in teacher-preparation institutions admit some interpretive schemes and not others, and thereby mediate between signification and communication.

Arenas. The medium for cooperation, contest, or conflict arising from unequally distributed resources in the political model of organizations is the arena. Groups use their capabilities in arenas to achieve their objectives.

Arenas mediate between domination and the exercise of power by distributing and redistributing access to the exercise of power, that is, by shaping which capabilities will be admitted as elements of the exercise of power and which will not. Say, for example, that the dean of a college of education recommends centralizing budgetary control in his or her office rather than allowing the various departments to control their budgets. Whether the recommendation is accepted will be decided in an arena that can be configured in several ways, depending on (a) who is allowed to participate, (b) who among the participants is allowed to vote, (c) when and where the decision will be made, and (d) what decision criteria are used and how they are selected. If the department heads can vote and not be overridden, the dean's recommendation may be defeated and decentralized budgeting control retained, further enhancing the separate capabilities of the department heads and reinforcing the shape of the arena. If the dean is strong and cannot be overridden, centralized budgeting control may be chosen, further enhancing the dean's capabilities and reinforcing the arena's shape. In other words, arenas admit some and not other capabilities as constituting elements in the exercise of power and thereby mediate between domination and the exercise of power.

Courts. But what if there is competition, conflict, or contradition resulting from the rules that establish the forum or arena? The medium for resolution is the court, broadly conceived. Social interactions are always subject to evaluative, moral, or sanctioning judgments, and these judgments are rendered through the operation of courts, that is, the formal or informal media for the resolution of conflict. At a minimum there is always the "court of public opinion," inside and outside an organization, to which disputes about morals or sanctions may be referred. Arbitration proceedings (e.g., in labor negotiations) constitute more formal courts. Contests in organizations may be referred to legally constituted courts in which the normative (legal) justifications for and against the questioned behavior may be adjudicated. This is what happens in equal opportunity law suits which are brought against educational institutions by individuals, for example, or in teacher "malpractice" law suits which, in the future, may be brought against educational organizations with some frequency by outsiders.

Formal and informal courts play their central mediating role by distributing and redistributing access to legitimacy; thus the operations of courts can make certain causes (reasons) of action easier or more difficult to pursue, thereby altering the longer term advantages and disadvantages of various interests (Lowi, 1976). Courts shape the norms that will be used in moral sanctioning. For example, in public schools the addition of teacher-grievance procedures that include provisions for redress often have made confronting and

overruling certain management decisions easier for employees. By admitting some and not other norms as constitive elements in the creation of evaluative, moral, or sanctioning judgments, courts mediate between legitimation and the rendering of judgments.

Like signification, domination, and legitimation generally, forums, arenas, and courts overlap and interpenetrate to a significant degree in any real situation; they are only analytically separable.

The Dynamic Nature of the Conceptualization

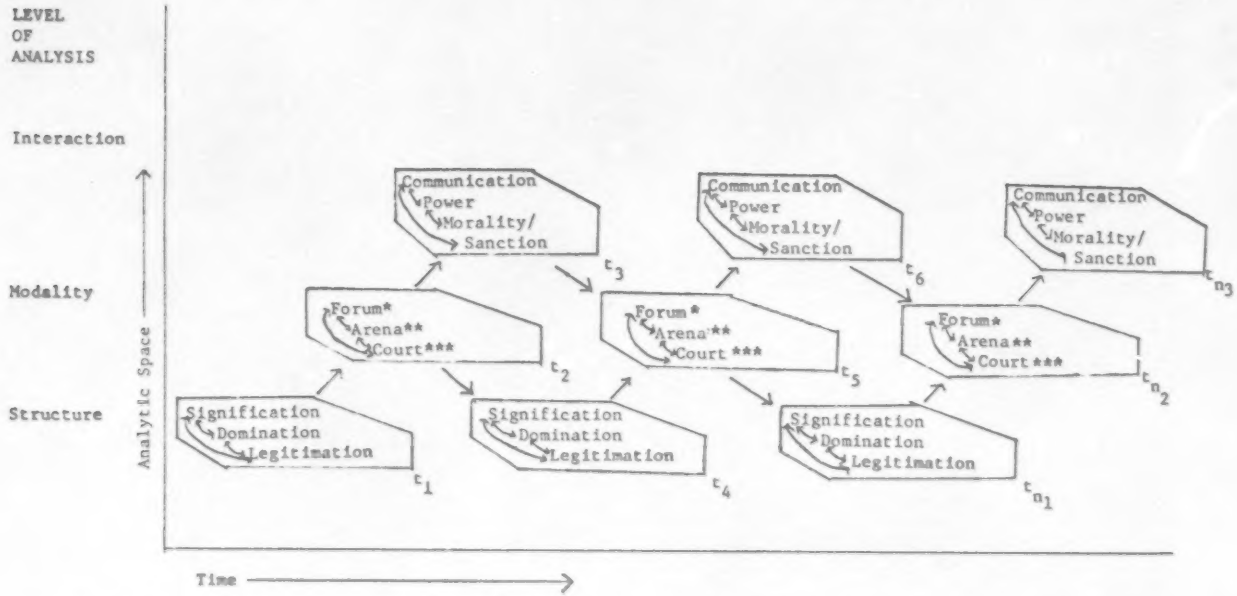
Giddens's model (see Fig. 2) is definitely not static; the time dimension is a crucial component. The temporal feature of Giddens's scheme, however, may be better illustrated by Figure 3 in which Giddens's scheme is elaborated and modified for purposes of this paper.

The figure highlights an important distinction that Giddens makes between structure and system. In Giddens's view, structure consists of the rules and resources that are impersonal properties of social systems; therefore it refers principally to the properties apparent at the "level of structure" (Fig. 3). Social system, on the other hand, refers to the produced and reproduced social relations (i.e., recurrent social practices) among social actors or collectivities. These practices have structural properties although they are not structures in themselves inasmuch as they involve systems of historically and contextually grounded social interactions. System, therefore, refers to all of Figure 3: interaction, modality, and structure as they are worked out over time.

The figure also highlights the central role of forums, arenas and courts in mediating between interaction and structure in the political model of organizations. This central role can be explained as follows:

The Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 were based on rules of justice and equity that altered the shape of forums, arenas, and courts in society generally. In the case of organizations, the development of affirmative action based on these laws altered the resources which members of minority groups, in particular, legitimately are able to bring to organizational arenas. As a result, discussions in forums and decisions in arenas now, more often than in the past, focus on how to include such individuals in organizational activities. In other words, a change in the rules led to a change in social interaction, and that social interaction--to the extent that it changes the work opportunities, incomes, and life chances of minority group members--is altering not only some structural properties of organizations, but the structural properties of society as a whole.

Faculty unionization on many university campuses has altered the traditional arenas in which power was exercised; often entirely new arenas were created. On issues of pay and working conditions, direct bargaining between union and administration replaces other forms of consultation (e.g.,



*Medium for the expression and intersubjective understanding of and competition among alternative interpretive schemes.

**Medium for cooperation, contest, or conflict arising from unequally distributed resources.

***Medium for the resolution of competition, conflict or contradition among norms.

Fig. 3. The dynamic nature of structure, modality, and interaction in the production and reproduction of social life in political organizations. Adapted in part from Giddens (1976, p. 122) and Clegg (1979, p. 99).

administration and individuals, deans, or faculty senate). Many faculties believe that unionization increases their capability to exercise power through the capability to strike, and through their ability to go outside administrative channels (to state legislatures in the case of public educational institutions). Salaries in particular actually may be increased because of access to new arenas and the creation of new capabilities.

On the other side, university legal and personnel staffs also can be expected to increase. The structure of the universities will be altered--at least somewhat--by altering underlying rules and resources available to faculty and administration.

Structuration and the Dimensions of Power

The levels of analysis in Giddens's framework, as modified for this paper, correspond to the three dimensions of power identified earlier. The appropriate level of analysis for the first dimension of power in political organizations (e.g., teacher-preparation institutions) is social interaction; for the second dimension of power, it is the level of modality and, in particular, the nature of forums, arenas, and courts. The shaping of forums, arenas, and courts draws the line (a) between what is admissible as decision items (on which "favorable" or "unfavorable" rulings will be made) and what is "ruled out" as non-decisions, or decisions to neglect, (b) between what counts as issues and what must remain potential issues, (c) what will be seen as overt conflict and what will remain covert conflict, and (d) between what will enter forums, arenas, and courts as policy preferences and what will remain outside as grievances with no place to be addressed or redressed.

Finally, the appropriate level of analysis for the third dimension of power is the level of structure made up of impersonal, underlying generative rules and resources. These structures generate the possibility of a political agenda by creating the ultimate rule and resource bases of competing coalitions, and through creating (grounding) the list of items that ultimately will be divided into decision and non-decision items, issues and potential issues, overt and covert conflict, and subjective and "real" interests.

Only a consideration of all three levels leads to an explanation and understanding of the workings of power in political organizations. Only a consideration of all three levels allows an adequate approach to the design and change of political organizations.

Shaping Forums, Arenas, and Courts: Organizational Design and Change

Social interaction, we know, is temporally and contextually situated human activity. In organizations fitting the political model (e.g., teacher-preparation institutions) such activity is shaped (i.e., constituted and regulated) within forums, arenas, and courts. Because (a) teacher-preparation

institutions in general consist of competing coalitions, (b) the decision process often appears to be disorderly, given the shifting of coalitions and clash of interest groups, and (c) decisions result from negotiation, bargaining, and interplay among interests, it is apparent that the organizational design and change of teacher-preparation institutions should not focus on attempts to exert precise control over organizational behavior and performance. (Among the other compelling reasons to avoid precise control is the principal one of promoting academic freedom.) Instead, it is argued here, the organizational design and change of teacher-preparation institutions should focus on the shaping of forums, arenas, and courts. Whereas organizational behavior and performance cannot be precisely controlled, the media within which meaning is created, power is exercised, and evaluative judgments are made, can be controlled--at least by the dominant coalition. What is possible is the shaping of what (a) are admissible as decision items, (b) count as issues, (c) are allowable as conflicts, and (d) are legitimate policy preferences. In other words, attempts to change teacher preparation should focus first and foremost on forums, arenas, and courts. How to do so is illustrated in the following hypothetical case.

The Case of the Dean's Grant Project

A generic model was developed to help with Dean's Grant Projects (DGPs).[11] It consists of six standard planning phases. After an introductory discussion, the example is discussed according to the phases. Figure 4 is included to connect the idea of the planning phases and the conceptualization presented earlier. A planning phase is presented as a single "episode" in an on-going social system. (Actually, a planning phase is a series of not necessarily temporally continuous episodes; space limitations, however, prevent such a presentation in Fig. 4.)

Social Context

The Dean's Grant Program was undertaken to help to implement Public Law 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 (see Grosenick & Reynolds, 1978). The program provides support "to reform training sequences and curricula to include competencies for responding to individual challenges of children, including the handicapped, who require additional attention."

It is important to note that the least restrictive alternative or "mainstreaming" principle in the law is linked to a broadly based social movement favoring the rights of handicapped people (cf. Zald & Berger, 1978). Public 94-142 represents one of the more obvious and important manifestations of the movement's strength and impact. The movement's growth was tied to the development of a broad civil rights movement and, particularly, to the famous Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka Supreme Court decision of 1954. That ruling and many related adjudications determined that handicapped children

and young people have a right to appropriate and life-enhancing education based on individualized programs and delivered to the maximum extent possible in the same settings in which their nonhandicapped peers are educated.

The courts, in other words, instituted legally binding norms based upon deep-seated moral or evaluative rules directed to equality, fairness, justice, and right relations among people. The new norms (laws) are linked to interpretive schemes based on a vision (world view or Weltanschauung) and icon (normalization) of what a mainstreamed world should look like. The language itself (e.g., least restrictive alternative, civil rights, normalization) helps to constitute those interpretive schemes and icons.

When the "mobilization of bias" that any social movement constitutes was further enhanced by the "mobilization of bias" that the federal government constitutes, with its judicial, legislative, and executive capabilities, a basis for forcing changes in teaching and teacher preparation was laid. The preponderance of resources in support of mainstreamed education virtually assured that such changes would be forthcoming. The only questions were when and how smoothly such changes would occur. Put differently, a set of potential issues and latent conflicts had been created for teacher education because of changes in the underlying resource distribution(structure) of the larger society, and the uncertainty centered on when these potential issues would be raised and resolved as actual issues and the degree of overt or covert conflict that would be entailed.

Because of the new situation, teachers could expect to have increasing interactions with handicapped children in the form of conducting diagnostic studies, participating in the preparation of individualized education plans (IEPs), consulting with parents and colleagues about IEPs, engaging in individualized instruction, and monitoring student progress. Teacher-preparation institutions, thus, could expect to have to reconceptualize the teacher-preparation curriculum (i.e., develop new interpretive schemes), and to revise that curriculum (i.e., institute new norms and emphasize new capabilities) to prepare teachers to comply with the regulations and carry out the intent of Public Law 94-142. The Dean's Grant Program provided relatively small but unencumbered resources to deans of teacher-preparation institutions to enhance the institutions' capabilities for reconceptualization and curriculum revision

Phase I: Initial Agreement on the Planning Mission

Now for the hypothetical change effort in a college of education:

The effort begins when the dean and several key allies realize that to maintain their college's position as a viable and respected teacher-education institution something must be done to reconceptualize and revise the curriculum in response to Public Law 94-142. The dean and the allies realize that

accomplishing such changes will not be easy; scarce resources will be required and several different coalitions exist in the college. These coalitions often differ sharply over basic issues. Especially problematic is a frequent division between special and regular education faculty members. The latter are not convinced that special education is so special and they resent the power that the special educators have gained because of their grant-getting capability.

After consulting with units, groups, or persons who can ultimately help or hinder the project, the dean appoints a representative Project Coordinating Committee (PCC) to oversee the effort. The PCC is chaired by a high-status, credible, non-vested chairperson who is a member of the regular education faculty. The dean feels that having a regular educator chair the PCC will help to defuse the observable and latent conflicts between regular and special education faculties, and will prompt regular educators to participate more fully in what the dean intends to be a college-wide change effort.

The PCC and its various subcommittees will provide the most important forums, arenas, and courts for the shaping of decision, issues, conflicts and policy preference stemming from the change effort. By establishing and giving a mandate to the PCC the dean has set the political agenda (i.e., change in response to Public Law 94-142) but has not dictated program specifics. The dean feels that this is wise because in an institution in which the dean's formal powers are not great, which is characterized by multiple and often competing coalitions, and which is commited to the idea of academic freedom, the dictation of specifics would not be acceptable. Instead, the dean will have the PCC flesh out the actual details of the effort based on an accommodation of competing coalitions' and individuals' interests, goals, and expertise. This phase results, ultimately, in an understanding among key decision makers and opinion leaders about the over-all planning mission and key planning steps, and they so write a proposal. In other words, these people establish jointly shared expectations about the nature of the effort and the patterning of activities.

As a reward for the achievement of this understanding, the U.S. Dept. of Education's Office of Special Education approves a Dean's Grant to assist the college with its change effort.

Phase II: Needs Assessment/Problem Identification

The PCC tries to identify the nature and range of needs or problems; feelings and attitudes of affected parties; differences among affected parties; and criteria for measuring satisfaction of affected units, groups, or persons. The PCC's tools are structured and unstructured interviews, surveys, meetings and literature reviews. Various interests are given by "voice" in the process and key issues are identified. Important criteria (norms) for evaluating the success of the project are also identified.

Phase III: Search for Possible Solutions

To find responses to identified needs or problems, the PCC oversees an in-depth solution search, solution development, and evaluation by faculty-project groups and outside consultants. The focus is on finding the appropriate conceptualization (interpretive schemes), policies (norms), and arrangement of capabilities suitable for responding adequately to identified needs and problems.

Phase IV: Development of a Plan for Goal Achievement

Finally the PCC prepares an actual draft plan in which special attention is devoted to the concerns of key parties. The draft plan includes an explanation of alternative solution strategies and careful cost and benefit estimates for each. It is made easily understandable to key decision makers and faculty members by special editing, layout, and graphics.

Once the draft plan is prepared it is reviewed informally with all key parties to make sure that their concerns have been addressed and that all necessary compromises have been incorporated. In other words, the draft plan is the medium for registering the now reasonably shared vision of how teacher preparation should be reconceptualized and changed. In the process, enough key issues have been addressed satisfactorily so that a coalition large enough to pass and to carry out the plan is assured. Opposition has become something of a non-issue at this point, a rearguard action at best.

Phase V: Plan Review and Adoption

With a large enough coalition committed to the proposed changes, this phase, though necessary, is something of an anticlimax. The phase consists of a formal decision to adopt and to proceed with the plan on the basis of fairly widespread agreement with the proposed solution. The dean's signature on a formal document marks this event. The decision entails a commitment of necessary resources, agreement by all affected parties to cooperate with the procedures, adoption of evaluation norms, and a shared sense of excitement about the proposed plan. A "mobilization of bias" in favor of the changes in teacher preparation is now clearly irresistible. Policy preferences not accommodated in the appropriate arenas prior to this point must now be held as unredressed grievances or simply dropped. A new set of teacher-education practices is about to commence.

Phase VI: Carrying Out the Changes

Implementation efforts incorporate the changes in the system so that a set of changed teacher-education practices are produced and reproduced. Accomplishments sought in this phase include introducing the changes smoothly; de-bugging to assure the solution works; evaluating program effectiveness;

adoption of the changes by all relevant units, grups, or persons; and assurance that important features of the solution design are maintained while the procedures are in effect.

To achieve these permanent changes in the system, the following tactics are employed:

-- To create awareness of the education needs of handicapped pupils and of the requirements of Public Law 94-142:
  - Faculty seminars involving knowledgeable trainers.
  - Visits to schools and community agencies where the needs and education of handicapped pupils can be observed.

-- For curriculum change:
  - Development and/or acquisition of expanded syllabi and bibliographies.
  - Fundamental revisions in single courses.
  - Merged coursework across regular and special education faculty or departments.
  - Fundamental revisions in core courses.
  - Participation as observers of groups or individuals who would be implementors in subsequent phases.
  - Additional compensation for faculty time devoted to curriculum development.

-- Options for administrative and organizational changes:
  - Establishment and enforcement of joint responsibilities among special and regular faculty members for teaching, practicum development, and supervision.
  - Renegotiation of roles of all educators, special and regular, to assure plan implementation.
  - Revision of department/college priorities to highlight the educational needs of the handicapped.
  - Access to and liaison with top administrators during the trial period.
  - Technical assistance to key units, groups or individuals during implementation.

-- Field-related activities:
  - Modification of clinical teaching experiences at existing teacher-training sites.
  - Development of clinical teaching experiences at new teacher-training sites.

-- Political situation: Development of an alliance of key parties interested (at least as observers) in the program to develop a sense of shared commitment.

-- Faculty-development tactics:
  - Release time and funds for retraining.
  - Travel funds.
  - Time for planning.

- Time for working in schools with mainstreamed classrooms.
- Adjustment of teaching loads to accommodate necessary teaching, practicum development, and supervision requirements for addressing educational needs of handicapped pupils.

As a result of these actions, graduating teachers are able to participate successfully in accommodating the needs of handicapped children in mainstreamed classrooms. The institution maintains its position as a viable and respected teacher-education center.

Conclusion

The principal conclusion to be drawn from the example is that in teacher-preparation institutions successful organizational design and change depend on control over the media within which meaning is created, power is exercised, and evaluative judgments are made. This means that organizational design and change should focus on shaping: (a) forums, which distribute and redistribute access to the communication of meaning, (b) arenas, which distribute and redistribute access to the exercise of power, and (c) courts, which distribute and redistribute access to legitimacy. By altering forums, arenas, and courts, one alters what emerge as decisions, issues, conflicts, and policy preferences.

The reason for focusing on these media is that neither interaction nor structure, which, ultimately is a product of interaction, can be precisely prescribed in teacher-preparation institutions because such organizations support academic freedom, consist of competing coalitions, and have a decision process that is often made disorderly by the clash of shifting coalitions and interest groups. In these institutions decisions, including those defining organizational structure, result from the negotiation, bargaining, and interplay among interests. In such a setting it is unwise, if not impossible, to attempt precise control over organizational behavior and performance. However, although organizational behavior and performance cannot be precisely controlled, what can be controlled, at least by the dean and a dominant coalition, are the media within which meaning is created, power is exercised, and evaluative judgments are made.

Put somewhat differently, calculable and predictable control of organizational behavior and performance is not possible but it is possible to control the shaping of (a) admissible decision items, (b) perceived issues, (c) allowable conflicts, and (d) legitimate policy preferences. Successful change efforts in teacher-preparation institutions thus require the shaping of the institution's forums, arenas, and courts so that they support the direction (bias) of change and program specifics may be hammered out within them to the reasonable satisfaction of all interested parties.

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End Notes

[1]Weber viewed power as the probability that a person can carry out his or her own will despite resistance.

[2]Dahl's definition is quite similar to Weber's (1968, p. 53). Dahl has since modified his definition; see Dahl (1976, p. 30-31).

[3]He said that power can be described structurally and that its structure is related to the social and economic structure of the community, that is, power is unevenly distributed and is quite stable over time. Further, to be effective, power must be exercised along constitutional lines by representatives of social, economic, or governmental units (Berry & Hanson, 1976, p. 4; Hunter, 1953, p. 6). He also felt that power was often exercised covertly.

[4]The distinction between "subjective" and "real" interests is discussed later.

[5]Three of the few studies to examine non-decisions are Allison (1969), Crenson (1971), and Smith (1979).

[6]"Some issues are organized into politics while others are organized out" Schattschneider (1960, p. 71).

[7]"Real" interests, as opposed to subjectively held interests, are discussed subsequently.

[8]Dahl (1976) criticized Lukes on the basis that there are in fact as many dimensions of power as one could want, so detailing them does not help. The criticism is weak.

[9]In a later paper, Lukes (1977) identified his third dimension with social structure, but did so in a way that does not make the link between structure and action which the theory of structuration--discussed in the next section--allows (see Giddens, 1979, p. 91).

[10]Structures, in Giddens's view, consist of rules and resources which he sees as impersonal properties of social systems (Giddens, 1979). Human action consists of "actual or contemplated causal interventions by [human] beings in the on-going process of events in the world" (Giddens, 1979, p. 55). An adequate conception of action, however, must incorporate several additional considerations: (a) Unacknowledged conditions affecting action, such as those embodied, for example, in structural properties; (b) unintended consequences of action, for example, the epiphenomenal recreation of social structure; (c) despite limitations on human consciousness and intentionality, considerable emphasis must be given to the importance of human beings' motivations, their rationalizations of action, and, perhaps especially, their impressive capacity to self-monitor and adjust their actions (Giddens, 1979). This view of structures and human action lays important conceptual groundwork for the merger of structural analysis with action theory through the theory of structuration.

[11]Development of the model was based on Bryson and Delbecq (1979).

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Changing Teacher Education: Addressing the Political Difficulties

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Teacher-preparation institutions by their very nature are political; that is, they are pluralistic organizations in which individuals, groups, and coalitions typically differ, often sharply, over ends and means. Political difficulties arise when attempts are made to change programs because--as is true of all political organizations--the faculty members form shifting coalitions and discordant interest groups. As a result, planning and decision making often appear to be disorderly because most major decisions can be reached only through negotiation, bargaining, and interplay among the interests. The politics of teacher preparation, thus, "involves those activities taken within organizations to acquire and develop power and other resources to obtain one's preferred outcome in a situation in which there is uncertainty or dissensus about choices" (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 1).

Given this political setting, anyone interested in changing teacher education must be prepared to resolve the political difficulties that are likely to attend such endeavors. To find out how experienced teacher educators believe that the difficulties arising during the process of changing teacher preparation can be overcome, the study reported here was undertaken.

The Model

In the basic model guiding this research (see Fig. 1), a planning situation is defined by goals and contextual variables. The appropriate choice

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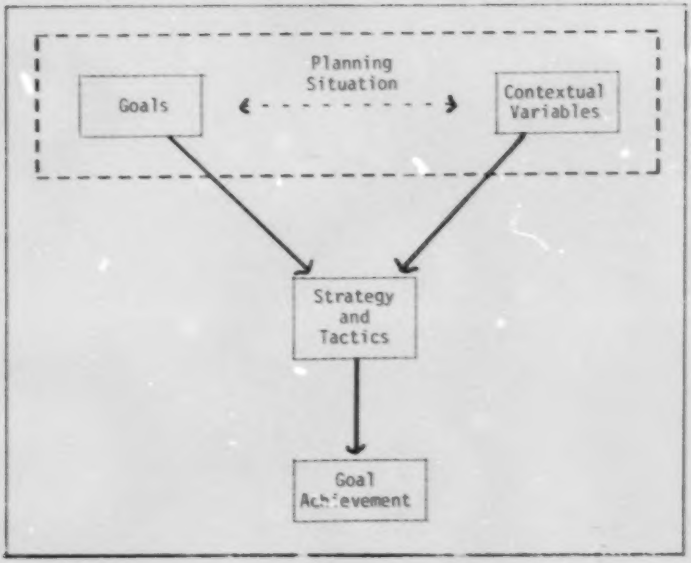


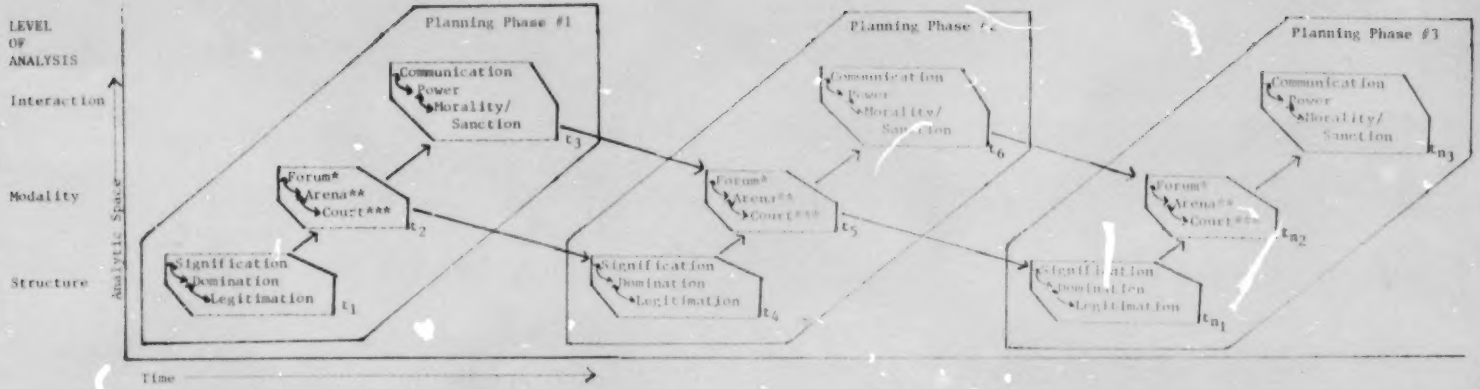
Fig. 1. Schema of Contingent Program Planning Model.

of strategy and tactics is contingent on the situation and leads to the degree of actual goal accomplishment that will result from this choice. (Obvious feedback loops have been ignored for the present.) Goal dimensions and specific contextual variables are presented in Tables 1 and 2. Each dimension has a range of values that are easy or hard to deal with strategically and tactically.

The model was developed earlier by Bryson and Delbecq (1979) and is based on the contingent approach. This theory, which now dominates management and organizational research, posits that the appropriate range of choices for organizational structure and process is contingent on any number of relevant factors (Filley, House, & Kerr, 1976; Hellriegal & Slocum, 1978; Tosi & Carroll, 1978). It contrasts dramatically with, for example, the "one best way" methods that still characterize most planning thought (Galloway & Mahayni, 1977).

Despite the dominance of the contingent approach in management and organizational research, little work has been done on the question of how planning strategy and tactics should change as the situation changes (Zaltman & Duncan, 1977). This paper describes an attempt to help fill that gap. The method used is a partial replication of Bryson and Delbecq's (1979) study.

Bryson and Delbecq focused on simulating planning for and establishing group homes for mentally retarded adolescents. They examined eight situations: two different goals x two different levels of political difficulty x two different levels of technical difficulty. The present study is concerned



*Medium for the expression and intersubjective understanding of, and competition among, alternative interpretive schemes.

**Medium for cooperation, contest, or conflict based on unequally distributed resources.

***Medium for the resolution of competition, conflict, or contradiction among norms.

Fig. 4. Planning phases in relation to the dynamic nature of structure, modality, and interaction in the production and reproduction of social life in political organizations. Adapted in part from Giddens (1976, p. 122) and Clegg (1979, p. 99).

Table 1

Goal Dimensions

Dimension	Easy to deal with	Difficult to deal with
Number of groups affected	One group	Multiple groups
Degree of value agreement	No conflict with existing value system in terms of awareness, priority and intensity of concerns	Major conflict with existing value system in terms of awareness, priority and intensity of concerns
Impact of change effort on organizational structure	No reorganization required	Significant reorganization required
Impact of change effort on resource allocation	No change in resource allocation pattern required	Significant change in resource allocation pattern required
Technical difficulty	Within existing technology in place in terms of comprehension of causation and sophistication of technology	Radical change from existing technology in place in terms of comprehension of causation and sophistication of technology

Table 2

Contextual Variables

Variable	Easy to deal with	Difficult to deal with
Number of groups involved	Single	Multiple
Degree of value agreement		
Awareness of problem	High awareness	Low awareness
Priority given to problem	High priority	Low priority
Intensity of concern	High intensity	Low intensity
Technical difficulty		
Comprehension of causation	Causation understood	Causation not understood
Sophistication of technology	Simple, routine technology	Highly sophisticated technology
Time available	Ample time available	Severe time constraints
Money available	Ample money available	Severe money constraints
Impact of change effort on organizational structure	No reorganization required	Significant reorganization required
Impact on change effort on resource allocation	No change in resource allocation pattern required	Significant change in resource allocation pattern required
Coalition development	Established coalitions and stability in the organizational network	Nonexistent coalitions and turbulence in the organizational network
Character of lead organization	Organization has major power, authority, and responsibility plus a history of success	Organization has little power, authority, and responsibility, plus a history of failure
Character of planning staff	Large and skilled	Small and unskilled
Technical quality of proposal	High technical quality	Low technical quality
Environmental stability	Stable	Turbulent

with planning for and carrying out changes in teacher preparation, and a somewhat different set of situations and contingencies is investigated (see the methods section). Changes were made in the details of Bryson and Delbecq's model and research instruments to accommodate these differences.

A major finding in Bryson and Delbecq's research was the apparent primacy of political over technical or goal-related concerns as a cause of change in planning strategy and tactics. Their finding is the reason the level of political difficulty is specifically isolated in the present study to determine its effect on choices of strategy and tactics for changing teacher preparation.

The Method

The judgments of teacher educators were recorded during a simulated planning exercise that lasted approximately two and one-half hours. Participants were asked to design a process to achieve a specific goal in a specific context with specific budget constraints. Both goal and context were embedded in a manipulable planning "story" or situation.* Each participant was given a small pocket calculator and a specially designed game sheet on which to record his or her planning choices. The sheet listed a set of generic planning phases and tactics. Each tactic had a cost in person-days of staff time and dollars. Participants used these simulation elements to make and record judgments on phase choices, phase order, phase importance, calendar time for each phase and the whole process, tactical choices, ranked importance of tactics within phases, and the person-day and dollar-cost of each phase and the whole process. In addition, participants were asked to estimate how likely it was that their respective processes would lead to accomplishing their goals.

The Situations

Six different situations (Table 3) were selected for examination; we had 24 options for examination: 3 general settings x 2 different goals x 2 different levels of political difficulty x 2 different levels of technical difficulty; see Appendix* for the possible situations based on the different planning story elements. The difficulties of data collection dictated the selection of the six situations that were the most characteristic of those encountered in efforts to change teacher preparation. Each situation comprised one of three academic environments, goal and technical difficulties, and easy or difficult political circumstances. However, the focus on these situations raised some serious methodological difficulties which are discussed at the end of this subsection.

The three general settings examined were (a) a large college of education in a major land grant university, (b) a college of education in a small

*See Appendix, p. 167 et seq.

Table 3

The Six Planning Situations Examined in the Study

				Easy Politically	Difficult Politically
Large Public University:	Difficult Goal	&	Difficult Technically	1	2
Small Public University:	Difficult Goal	&	Difficult Technically	3	4
Small Private College:	Difficult Goal	&	Difficult Technically	5	6

university that is part of a large state university system, and (c) a department of education in a small private college. The planning goal for each was the same: to bring about fundamental changes in the institution's teacher-preparation programs so that within three years all professional personnel would be able to accommodate the needs of handicapped children in regular school settings, a difficult goal to achieve. Most participants actually worked in a setting that was generally similar to the one they examined in the simulation.

The game sheets used for the three settings differed in only one respect: the person-day and dollar-costs of tactics. Costs were highest in the land grant university, lower in the small state university, and least in the small private college. The overall budgets given to participants paralled these differences (i.e., participant in the land grant university setting had the largest budgets, those in the small private college, the smallest).

The level of technical difficulty was the same in all settings. Each planning story emphasized the presence among the groups involved in the change effort of disagreement over which of numerous competing sets of methodologies and procedures to use. The disagreement arose, in part because no set had been scientifically validated. Thus, major technical difficulties abounded--a circumstance that could be expected to have political ramifications.

The level of political difficulty varied in each setting. Political difficulty was defined as a composite of the number of groups affected and the degree of value agreement. The situations had been constructed to be politically easy or difficult. The easy situation included several interested parties who agreed in general on basic values and beliefs. In addition, accreditation and state certification standards provided incentives for the desired change. In the difficult situation, the numerous interested parties who were important to the program differed sharply over basic beliefs and values as well as specific issues, such as basic educational mission, appropriate educational priorities, personnel hiring and promotion practices, and faculty governance. In this difficult situation, state accreditation standards did not require the desired change. Other contextual variables were held constant.

In designing the possible situations, pooled judgments from earlier panels of experienced teacher educators were used to assure that the difficult goal was considerably more difficult than the simple goal, that the politically difficult situation was considerably more difficult than the politically easy situation, and that the technically difficult situation was considerably more difficult than the technically easy situation. Further, the judgments of these panels were pooled by the authors to assure that the politically easy and technically easy situations were equally easy to handle from a planning standpoint and that the politically difficult and the technically difficult situations were equally difficult for planning purposes. In other words, about as much time and money were required to handle the politically easy and technically easy situations, and similarly, about as much time and money were required to handle the politically difficult and technically difficult situations. These procedures assured equal "distance" among independent variables and therefore allowed more assurance that these independent variables were causing effects and not some intervening variables.

A methodological difficulty was inherent in the selection of settings: The investigators could not disentangle the effects of goal difficulty from technical difficulty in the participants' choices, nor were they able to filter out the interaction effects of goal, technical, and political difficulties.

Forcing Choices

Dependent variables were established by allowing each teacher educator, acting as a dean in situations 1-4 or a department head in situations 5-6 (see Table 3), to choose from the same set of planning phases and tactics. Choices were constrained by the overall budget of person-days and money, and by the specific person-day and dollar-cost attached to each tactic. The overall budget dictated that participants could use, at most, approximately 50 per cent of the tactics. The costs of tactics were fairly realistic and

based in part on the pooled judgments of an earlier panel of experienced teacher educators formed at the request of the senior author. Overall budgets, however, were exceedingly generous. In fact, they may have been so generous that they did not actually "force" choices in response to different contingencies.

Participants

Six panels, each made up of about 12 teacher educators, participated in the simulated planning exercise. The panels were assembled at either national meetings of teacher educators or individual institutions, as part of professional development programs. Because participants were not assigned randomly to panels and participant characteristics were not analyzed, there is no way of knowing if systematic differences existed among the panels.

Participants were expected to make numerous choices. Those assigned to situations 1-5 probably had enough time to do so but those assigned to situation 6 probably did not because less time was scheduled for that session. The time constraint for Panel 6 may explain some unexpected findings which are reported in the next section. Judgments made early in the exercise by all participants, regardless of situation, probably are the most accurate and valid because they were made when participants were still fresh. The results are reported according to the major choice categories in the following sections which are ordered as in the exercise. Therefore, the greatest confidence can be placed in the responses in the earlier categories.

Pooling Judgments

An individual estimation/group discussion/individual re-estimation procedure (Gustafson, Shukla, Delbecq, & Walster, 1973) was used in the judgments. Participants were encouraged to stick with their initial judgments unless group discussion and reflection gave them some compelling reason to change. In each panel pooled judgments were obtained for most variables by averaging individual decisions. However, for choices of tactics, rankings on each game sheet were recoded to give the first-ranked tactic in each phase a value equal to the total number of possible tactical choices in that phase; the second-ranked tactic was given a value of one less, and so on. Values were then summed across game sheets for each panel and tactics were ranked within phases according to the sums (Huber & Delbecq, 1972). In the final rankings (see Tables 4a-f), tactics were included in a phase until their cumulative cost exceeded the average person-days of staff time and dollars spent by the panel on that phase.

General Expectations

The general expectation guiding this research was that some choices would be made in all situations, some would be made in no solutions, and some

would be contingent on the situation. Specifically, increased political difficulty was expected to lead to the choice of more political tactics; higher rankings for political tactics; greater expenditures of person-days of staff time and dollars; more calendar time devoted to the planning and execution process; lower expectation of probable chance of success; higher rankings of the importance of initial agreement and plan review and adoption phases; and higher likelihood of beginning the process with the initial agreement phases. Each expectation is consistent with Bryson and Delbecq's (1979) findings.

Results

Panels tended to be more similar than different. However, important variations were found that, for the most part, seemed to arise out of differences in the panels' situations. The most general finding, as expected, is that all panels made some choices, both of things to do and not to do, and some choices were contingent on the situation. Specific results are presented in the following order of probable decreasing validity and accuracy: (a) tactics chosen, (b) average costs in dollars and person-days of staff time, (c) average calendar time, (d) phase order, (e) importance of phases, and (f) prediction of success.

Tactics

Initial agreement concerning the planning mission. Several tactics were always used in this phase (see Table 4a). Each panel chose to form and use a project-coordinating committee to oversee the planning effort, and all but one ranked this tactic first. Each panel also chose (a) the involvement of outside groups to endorse the commitment to the planning effort; (b) consultation with units, groups, or persons who can ultimately help or hinder the project; and (c) the use of shared discussion and problem solving.

These choices indicate that participants considered it necessary to create a mechanism for airing and integrating diverse perspectives in this initial phase. Further, the early involvement and cooperation of affected actors was considered crucial. The preferred approach to involving affected parties appeared to be shared discussion and problem solving rather than "forcing" or "smoothing."

In the politically easy situations (Panels 1, 3 and 5), the pattern of choices closely matched this basic planning scheme. As political difficulties increased (Panels 2, 4 and 6), however, the tendency was either to add tactics or to rank the more political tactics higher.

In sum, the least political responses occurred in the politically easy situations. Increased political difficulties led to more political responses.

Table 4a

Tactics Included and Ranks Given by Panel:

Initial Agreement on the Planning Mission

Tactics	Panels					
	Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	EP	DP	EP	DP	EP	DP
A. Use data displays and descriptive evidence.						
B. Present expert endorsements.						(8)
C. Use personal (one-to-one) persuasion.				5		7
D. Employ shared discussion and problem-solving ("let us reason together").	(4)	4	5	(7)	1	2
E. Use friendships and alliances (informal coalition formation).		(8)				
F. Form and utilize a planning coordinating committee to oversee the planning effort.	1	1	1	1	3	1
G. Bargain and negotiate regarding the nature and purpose of the planning effort.						
H. Involve outside groups, including potential clinical teaching partners, advocate groups, or other third parties, to endorse commitment to the planning effort.	3	5	2	6	6	4
I. Arguments relating proposed mission to organization's survival and enhancement.						
a. Present evidence of compability between the desired planning outcome and organizational objectives.		6		2	2	
b. Show planning mission provides a favorable organizational opportunity.		7		(7)		
c. Indicate potential problems if no planning effort is undertaken.						
J. Find a high-status credible, non-vested chairperson to head the planning coordinating committee.			4			
K. Consult with units, groups, or persons who can ultimately help or hinder the project.	2	2	(6)	4	5	3
L. Verbally offer incentives for active and positive involvement (e.g. faculty release time, extra support services, inclusion in criteria for retention, promotion, and tenure; and so forth).					(7)	6
M. Obtain visible and vocal support of influential members of school administration and faculty who can facilitate acceptance of the goal.		3	3	3	4	5

EP = Easy Politically

DP = Difficult Politically

This legend applies to all of the tables in this paper.

Table 4b

Tactics Included and Ranks Given by Panel:

Needs Assessment/Problem Identification

Tactics	Panels					
	Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
	1 EP	2 DP	3 EP	4 DP	5 EP	6 DP
A. Collect data using a mailed survey form or delphi survey form to affected units, groups, or persons.	(6)		1		(4)	
B. Analyze existing data (e.g., college data, student personnel data, census data, social indicators, etc.).		3	(3)	5		
C. Do a literature search.	3					
D. Engage affected units, groups, or persons in structured group meetings (using, for example, nominal group technique, brainstorming, force field analysis, etc.).	1	2	2	1	1	1
E. Conduct structured interviews with affected parties.						
F. Hold special unstructured faculty meetings especially to assess needs and identify problems.		5		(8)	2	
G. Compare differences between handicapped and nonhandicapped elementary and secondary school students.						
H. Utilize on-site (field) observation of elementary and/or secondary school students.	4	(6)		(8)	3	2
I. Employ unstructured interviews of:						
a. Key unit or department heads.		1		2		
b. Key faculty opinion leaders.		4		3		
c. Key education student representatives.				5		
d. Key representatives of clinical teaching sites.	5			4		(4)
e. Key representatives of advocate groups for handicapped individuals.	2			5		3

Table 4c

Tactics Included and Ranks Given by Panel:

Search for Possible Solutions

Tactics	Panels: Large Public University 1 EP	Large Public University 2 DP	Small Public University 3 EP	Small Public University 4 DP	Small Private College 5 EP	Small Private College 6 DP
A. Do an analysis of existing literature and data:						
a. By a single faculty person			7			
b. By a faculty project group	5	(6)	6	4	2	
c. By faculty project groups		4				
d. By a faculty project group and outside consultants.						
e. By faculty project groups and outside consultants.						
B. Do an in-depth solution search, solution development, and evaluation:						
a. By a single faculty person.						
b. By a faculty project group.				3	7	
c. By faculty project groups.				(9)		
d. By a faculty project group and outside consultants.		1	(9)		(9)	(4)
e. By faculty project groups and outside consultants.	5					
C. Contract:						
a. For analysis of existing literature and data by outside consultants.						
b. For in-depth solution search, solution development, and evaluation by outside consultants.						
D. Use:						
a. Informal polling of outside expert opinion (e.g., by telephone, at conferences, etc.).		5	3	7	4	
b. Informal contact with other departments or colleges of education (e.g., by telephone, at conferences, etc.).	4	2	2	6	5	1
E. Use a formal survey:						
a. Of other departments or colleges of education (e.g., through mailed questionnaires, delphi surveys, etc.)			4	8	8	
b. Of expert opinion (e.g., through mailed questionnaires, delphi surveys, etc.)						
c. Of unit or department heads and key faculty opinion leaders (e.g., through structured group meetings, the nominal group technique, etc.)	3	(6)	1	1	5	
d. Of representatives of advocate groups for handicapped individuals.	2	3	5	5	3	2
e. Of representatives of clinical teaching sites.	1	(6)	8	2	1	3

Table 4d

Tactics Included and Ranks Given by Panel:

Development of a Plan for Goal Achievement

Tactics	Panels: Large Public University 1 EP	Large Public University 2 DP	Small Public University 3 EP	Small Public University 4 DP	Small Private College 5 EP	Small Private College 6 DP
A. Write up and explain alternative solution strategies.	4	2	1		1	
B. Attach careful cost and benefit estimates for each alternative to the proposal.					2	9
C. Spend time on making the plan easily understandable to faculty and other key decision-makers (e.g., special editing, layout, graphics, etc.)	1	6	6	1	5	
D. Include in proposal draft arguments indicating the opportuneness of the moment for adopting the proposed solution.						
E. Include an evaluation design.	2	7	4	5	8	1
F. You must choose oneof the following tactics. Recommend:						
a. A solution which is proven and conventional.						
b. A tested, though non-conventional, solution.						
c. Experimentation (or quasi-experimentation) with alternative solution strategies.		4		8	10	3
d. An original and very creative solution which is untested.						
G. Provide for informal review of early drafts:						
a. By technical experts.		11	8			
b. By key unit or department heads.	3	1	2	2		6
c. By key faculty opinion leaders.	6	3		4	3	
d. By key representatives of clinical teaching sites.	5	8	5	7	5	7
e. By representatives of advocate groups for handicapped individuals.		13				5
f. By representatives of funding sources.		(14)				
H. Focus of proposal on needs and concerns:						
a. Pay careful attention to key unit or department head's concerns.		5	3	3	7	2
b. Pay careful attention to concerns of representatives of clinical teaching sites.	7		7	6	4	3
c. Pay careful attention to concerns of advocate groups for handicapped individuals.		10			9	8
d. Pay careful attention to concerns of funding sources.		9				
I. Level of detail in guidance for implementation:						
a. Specify only general policy statements as a guide to implementation.						
b. Indicate policy changes needed to implement the proposed solution.		11				
c. Lay out detailed guidelines for implementation and review them with implementors.	(13)		(9)	(9)	(11)	(10)

Table 4e

Tactics Included and Ranks Given by Panel:

Plan Review and Adoption

Tactics	Panels					
	Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
	1 EP	2 DP	3 EP	4 DP	5 EP	6 DP
A. Use formal group review procedures where modifications which improve:						
a. The technical quality of the plan are incorporated.	4	7	2	1	10	(6)
b. The political acceptability of the plan are incorporated.				3		5
B. Solicit endorsements of plan by faculty, central university administration, technical experts, representatives of clinical teaching sites, representatives of advocate groups for handicapped individuals, and/or funding sources.	2	1	1	4	2	1
C. Use external pressure groups (such as clinical teaching site organizations, State Department of Education, accrediting bodies, advocate groups for handicapped individuals, or other third parties) to facilitate plan adoption.			(9)		6	
D. Provide public announcement of the proposed plan.		8		11		
E. Indicate potential problems if the proposed program isn't adopted, and potential benefits if it is.	(7)		5	10	5	
F. Bargain and negotiate resource exchanges to obtain support.		(10)			9	
G. Use one-to-one personal persuasion.				(12)		
H. Identify potential opposition and prepare counterarguments in advance.	6	5	8	8	3	
I. Persuasion tactics related to technical aspects of plan:						
a. Present evidence of prior successful adoption.						
b. Emphasize that though the solution is non-conventional, it is thoroughly tested.						
c. Emphasize the pilot or experimental nature of the proposed solution.		9		8		(6)
d. Emphasize the innovativeness (i.e., the unique, creative, and untested character) of the proposed solution.	8					
J. Emphasize compatibility with:						
a. Key unit or department head concerns.	3	2	3	2	1	2
b. Concerns of representatives of clinical teaching sites.	1	3	6	5	4	3
c. Concerns of advocate groups for handicapped individuals.	5	4	4	6	7	4
d. Goals and concerns of funding sources.		5	7	7	8	

Table 4f

Tactics Included and Ranks Given by Panel:

Implementation

Tactics	Panels: Large Public University 1 EP	Large Public University 2 DP	Small Public University 3 EP	Small Public University 4 DP	Small Private College 5 EP	Small Private College 6 DP
A. Tactics to create awareness of the educational needs of the handicapped pupils and of the requirements of P.L. 94-142:						
a. Use faculty seminars involving knowledgeable trainers.	1	11	5	1	1	1
b. Use faculty retreats involving knowledgeable trainers.		16		10		26
c. Develop self-study units to promote awareness of needs of the handicapped.						
d. Purchase self-study units to promote awareness of needs of the handicapped.					7	
e. Support visits to schools and community agencies where the needs and education of handicapped pupils might be observed.	13	3	23		11	4
f. Use all-college workshops.						
g. Distribute circulated letters, memoranda, or reports and other relevant reading material.			17			
B. Tactics for curriculum change:						
a. Develop and/or obtain expanded syllabi and bibliographies.			8	15	14	22
b. Develop self-contained units on the education of the handicapped.			22			
c. Use "add-on courses" to regular education programs.						
d. Use fundamental revisions in single courses.	17			11		10
e. Use merged coursework across regular and special education faculty or departments.	14	19	12	19		3
f. Use team teaching by regular and special education faculty in all key courses.			16	23		
g. Make fundamental revisions in core courses.	7	7	15	4	20	19
h. Change the degree requirements or requirements for teacher certification from your institution.		26				17
i. Involve as participant observers, groups or individuals who will be implementors in subsequent phases.	9		18			
j. Purchase self-contained units on the education of the handicapped.						
k. Provide full-load credit for interdisciplinary team teaching.			(25)			
l. Provide additional compensation for curriculum development.		5		8	12	16
C. Tactical options for administrative and organizational changes:						
a. Establish and enforce joint responsibilities between special and regular faculty for teaching, practicum development, and supervision.		20	1	20	13	2

Table 4f (cont'd)

Tactics	Panels: Large Public University 1 EP	2 DP	Small Public University 3 EP	4 DP	Small Private College 5 EP	6 DP
b. Renegotiate roles of all educators, special and regular, to assure plan implementation.		6	10	22	17	
c. Revise department/college priorities to highlight the educational needs of the handicapped.	10	26	20	6	9	
d. Make a major investment of the Dean's/ Department Head's time.		10	19		21	18
e. Administratively relocate, reassign, or highlight key instructional units or groups to make sure the job gets done.		25	7			
f. Use personnel hiring, transfer, and compensation procedures that assure high-quality staff committed to the program.			24		25	
g. Provide access to and liaison with top administrators during the trial period.		13		3		
h. Provide additional funds to units or groups to trouble-shoot and problem-solve during implementation.	2	14		16		29
i. Provide technical assistance to key units, groups, or individuals during implementation	12	2		21	21	14
j. Make special funds available to units, groups or individuals who do the best job of goal implementation.		24				
k. Develop and use a set of symbolic rewards to encourage units, groups, or individuals to implement the solutions.				18		
D. Field related activities:						
a. Modify clinical teaching experiences with existing teacher training sites.	3	22	4	9	3	5
b. Develop clinical teaching experiences in new teacher training sites.		21			15	15
E. Evaluation techniques:						
a. Allow involved units, groups or individuals to go through more than one cycle of using the proposed solutions before making rigorous evaluation.	15		13		18	25
b. Use relatively simple before vs. after outcome evaluation (i.e., did the program seem to make a difference?).		26				12
c. Use performance, administrative, and budget analysis to determine actual program effects.						
d. Use controlled experimentation or quasi-experimentation to determine actual program effects.		(29)				28
e. Use on-site review bythird parties to determine program performance.		23				
f. Obtain external evaluation to determine program performance.						26
g. Maintain a detailed journalistic history of the three-year change process.				13		24

Table 4f (cont'd)

Tactics	Panels: Large Public University 1 EP	Large Public University 2 DP	Small Public University 3 EP	Small Public University 4 DP	Small Private College 5 EP	Small Private College 6 DP
F. Political tactics:						
a. Develop an alliance of key parties interested (at least as observers) in the program to develop a sense of shared commitment.		4	1	2	15	6
b. Activate third-party pressures to assure compliance with program goals (e.g., the media, advocate groups for handicapped individuals, external sources of funding, State Department of Education, accrediting bodies, etc.).						20
G. You must choose one of the following tactics Basic implementation strategies:						
a. A pilot project(s) with subsequent implementation by remaining potential implementors.	11	18				
b. A pilot project(s), then demonstration projects, then subsequent implementation by remaining potential implementors.						
c. Demonstration project(s), then subsequent implementation by remaining potential implementors.			21			
d. Direct implementation by all relevant units, groups or individuals.					10	23
H. Faculty Development Tactics:						
a. Provide release time and funds for retraining.	5	12	9	11	4	21
b. Provide additional compensation for research.						
c. Provide travel funds.		15		6	6	10
d. Provide time for planning.	8	1	6	5	2	9
e. Provide time for working in schools with mainstreamed classrooms.	6	7	2	17	5	8
f. Provide time and money for visitation to other college or university programs.	16	17			24	13
g. Provide additional sabbatical leaves for faculty development.						
h. Provide additional support services for faculty.	(18)		14	(24)	8	(30)
i. Adjust teaching loads to accommodate necessary teaching, practicum development and supervision requirements for addressing educational needs of handicapped pupils.	4	9	3	14	21	7

Needs Assessment/Problem Identification

Only one tactic achieved selection by all panels; it was the engagement of affected units, groups, or persons in structured group meetings. Although the panels tended to vary widely in the selection of other tactics, those dealing with politically difficult situations, at least in the large and small public university settings, seemed somewhat more inclined to develop stronger data bases than were the other panels. These selections coincided with the politically difficult setting and the subsequent necessity of understanding and anticipating issues, needs, and problems. Because much of the variation in rankings seemed random, these results may confirm the SAPPHO (1972) study findings that the route to understanding needs and problems is not so important as the fact that they are clearly understood.

Search for Possible Solutions

Several tactics were chosen by all panels. They were informal contact with other departments or colleges of education, and a formal survey of representatives of advocate groups for handicapped individuals, and representatives of clinical teaching sites. In addition, all panels but one included a formal survey of unit or department heads and key faculty opinion leaders, and an analysis of existing literature and data by a faculty-project group. The basic strategy appeared to be to acquire a general understanding of what could be learned from other departments or colleges of education and from existing literature and data. Formal surveys of key individuals or groups for solutions may have followed. Finally, all panels chose an in-depth solution search, solution development, and evaluation by a faculty project group, sometimes alone and sometimes with the aid of outside consultants. Increased political difficulty did not seem to produce variations in panel choices in the search for solutions.

Development of a Plan for Goal Achievement

Almost all the panels chose the following tactics: focusing the proposal on the needs and concerns of key unit or department heads and representatives of clinical teaching sites; providing for the informal review of early drafts by key unit or department heads and representatives of clinical teaching sites; spending time on making the plan easily understandable to faculty members and other key decision makers; and including an evaluation design. The basic approach apparently was to provide key actors with exactly what they wanted. Variations on this scheme mainly involved some added tactics and rank shifts by panels.

One interesting aspect of choice in this phase was that the specific kind of solution recommended never ranked very high in importance. It appeared that as long as key actors' needs and concerns were attended to, the kind of solution mattered little. It is also interesting to note, however,

that panelists chose solutions that incorporated experimentation or quasi-experimentation with alternative solution strategies. This choice was consistent with the technical difficulties present in each situation, that is, the lack of agreement over which of numerous competing sets of procedures and methodologies to use. Variations attributable to increased political difficulty were not apparent in this phase.

Plan Review and Adoption

Several tactics were chosen by all panels. The participants' desire to emphasize the compatibility of the plan with the concerns of key unit or department heads, representatives of clinical teaching sites, and advocate groups for handicapped individuals was dramatic. Each panel also chose to solicit endorsements of the plan by a range of people who were directly or indirectly affected by it. Participants thus appeared to be extending the basic approach of the previous phase (preparing a proposal that actually met the needs and concerns of directly or indirectly affected parties) by demonstrating that the activities had been carried out.

All panels but one also seemed to think it wise to identify potential opposition and to ready counterarguments to defend the proposal better in this phase.

Also interesting is the choice by each panel of informal group review procedures to produce modifications that would improve the technical quality of the plan. Given the technical difficulties present in the case, this choice appeared to be wise.

Also noteworthy is the finding that each panel in a politically difficult situation chose to emphasize the pilot or experimental nature of the proposed solution. This choice, perhaps, reflects the participants' belief that in politically difficult situations any approach that appears changeable--as opposed to irrevocable--is probably a good one (Bryson & Delbecq, 1979).

As expected, Panels 2 and 4 appeared to demonstrate a more political set of responses, chiefly through the selection of the largest number of tactics in this phase. On the other hand, Panel 6, which also had to contend with political difficulties, did not respond as expected. The participants in this panel chose the fewest number of tactics. Possibly, the participants reasoned that if the battle were to be won at all, it had to be before this phase. Participants may have considered the situation to be so difficult that if the bases had not been touched and agreement reached earlier, deadlock would result and almost nothing could be done to overcome it in this phase (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973). It is also possible that the panel's unexpected choices were due to the unavoidably rushed session in which they were operating.

Implementation

Participants apparently felt that the basic approach to carrying out plans to change teacher preparation should include the following tactics: using faculty seminars conducted by knowledgeable trainers; making fundamental revisions in core courses; adapting clinical teaching experiences to existing teacher-training sites; providing faculty release time and funds for retraining; providing time for working in schools with mainstreamed classrooms; and appropriately adjusting teaching loads. The bulk of the tactical choices came from three categories: curriculum change, administrative and organizational changes, and faculty development.

No category of tactics was completely omitted, although only one panel chose an explicitly political tactic. The avoidance of political tactics is perhaps surprising, given that three panels were in politically difficult situations. Perhaps participants reasoned that the tactics chosen in previous phases would ensure the responsiveness of the proposal to the needs and concerns of key parties, and thus political pressures were either unnecessary or potentially problematic. In addition, participants may have felt that political difficulties had to be dealt with prior to carrying out the plan if they were to be dealt with successfully.

It is also interesting to note some tendency (except in the small public university setting) to use more evaluation techniques as political difficulties increased. The explanation may be that participants hoped that many different evaluation methods would provide the range of information that often is needed to resolve political difficulties (Benviniste, 1977).

Finally, it is worthy of note that as the size of the hypothetical institution increased, the tendency was to move toward more elaborate change strategies, regardless of political difficulties. In private colleges direct tactics were preferred. In small public universities, demonstration projects followed by subsequent adoption was the favored choice. And in large public universities, the favored method was pilot projects, followed by demonstration projects, with subsequent activities carried out by remaining potential actors.

Average Costs in Dollars and Person-Days of Staff Time

Panels established a fairly consistent pattern of expenditures, both by phase and overall. In most phases, the panels developing plans for colleges that faced politically difficult situations spent more resources than did the panels assigned to the same type of college but placed in politically easy situations. This pattern was reversed, however, for some phases, though not overall, by the two small private college panels (see Table 5).

All panels allocated the largest share of resources to the sixth phase, "Implementation." Four groups spent over 70% of the resources they actually used on this phase alone. Only Panels 5 and 6 spent less on this phase yet they spent more than 50% of the resources they used on the phase.

Table 5

Average Costs by Panel in Person-Days and Dollars

		Panel					
		Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
		1 EP	2 DP	3 EP	4 DP	5 EP	6 DP
Phase 1**	p-d's	314.27	372.20	235.92	251.50	32.54	34.92
	$	626.67	1,083.50	565.77	744.50	127.31	141.54
Phase 2	p-d's	259.07	324.50	195.69	250.40	32.38	30.00
	$	484.67	710.50	446.15	513.50	94.62	73.08
Phase 3	p-d's	520.33	712.80	376.15	463.40	64.46	62.85
	$	14,832.33	16,064.00	8,210.77	8,226.00	3,386.92	4,123.46
Phase 4	p-d's	295.13	332.80	238.23	286.10	67.54	65.54
	$	5,423.67	5,879.00	4,185.38	5,046.00	1,189.23	1,103.85
Phase 5	p-d's	84.33	159.10	88.15	134.00	24.77	23.54
	$	647.33	1,160.00	637.31	1,005.00	166.92	149.23
Phase 6	p-d's	2,272.67	3,674.30	1,871.46	2,012.30	254.15	282.23
	$	58,833.00	90,711.50	42,773.85	49,409.00	7,700.38	7,991.15
Overall	p-d's	4,245.80	5,575.70	3,005.62	3,397.70	475.85	499.08
	$	80,847.67	115,608.50	56,819.23	64,944.00	12,665.38	13,582.31

Phase 1 = Initial Agreement Concerning the Planning Mission
Phase 2 = Needs Assessment/Problem Identification
Phase 3 = Search for Possible Solutions
Phase 4 = Development of a Plan for Goal Achievement
Phase 5 = Plan Review and Adoption
Phase 6 = Implementation

Generally, the next largest amount of resources was spent on Phase 3, "Search for Possible Solutions." The exception was Panels 5 and 6; they devoted about the same amount of person-days of staff time to the search for possible solutions and to development of plans for goal achievement. Again, panelists in the politically difficult settings spent slightly more than did their colleagues in an easy setting.

The third largest allocation of both dollars and person-days was to Phase 4, "Development of a Plan for Goal Achievement." All panels allocated the least money to Phase 2, "Needs Assessment/Problem Identification," and the fewest person-days to Phase 5, "Plan Review and Adoption." Overall, Panels 5 and 6 followed the pattern of the other four groups but with slight variations in some phases. These variations are fairly small and may not be significant, however.

Average Calendar Time

All six groups used almost the same average overall time (see Table 6): from 33.8 months (Panel 2) to 35.8 months (Panel 3). None used the full 36 months available and most suspended their change programs during the summer months. Interestingly, the colleges in an easy political setting spent slightly more time than did similar colleges in a difficult setting, an unexpected result. Perhaps the panels in the politically difficult settings concluded that speed was essential to forestall the emergence of new priorities that might eclipse the change program.

Phase 1, "Initial Agreement," was allocated the least amount of time by three groups; two other groups spent the second least amount of time on this phase. Panel 5 was the major exception; it allocated 10.9 months, second highest within its own rankings.

Phase 6, "Implementation," was allocated the most time by all six panels. The number of months ranged from 14.4 (Panel 3) to 21.8 (Panel 5). Generally, the schools in politically difficult situations gave more time to implementation than did their colleagues in an easy setting. Although Panels 5 and 6 did not follow this pattern, their differences were small. In general, Panel 5 spent the most time of the six groups on each phase; only Panel 2 used slightly more time on "Needs Assessment" and "Plan Development."

Phase Order

The most frequent phase order selected by the panels was (a) initial agreement concerning the planning mission, (b) needs assessment/problem identification, (c) search for possible solutions, (d) development of the plan, (e) plan review and adoption, and (f) implementation. The tendency to switch phase order did not seem to follow any particular pattern, whether by college type or degree of political difficulty.

Table 6

Average Calendar Time in Months by Panel and Phase

	Panel					
	Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
	1 EP	2 DP	3 EP	4 DP	5 EP	6 DP
Phase 1	6.1	7.7	6.0	6.2	10.9	5.9
Phase 2	6.7	12.4	9.6	7.2	10.7	6.4
Phase 3	8.0	9.7	7.5	8.7	11.7	9.5
Phase 4	8.6	11.6	8.9	9.0	10.3	6.9
Phase 5	6.7	6.8	5.2	6.9	9.7	6.1
Phase 6	15.8	18.7	14.4	16.0	21.8	19.3
Overall	34.2	33.8	35.8	33.9	34.3	33.9

Importance of Phases

In almost all cases, each phase was deemed to be fairly important to the achievement of the goal (see Table 7). In all six panels the average score for Phase 6, "Implementation," was at least equal to or higher than the scores for the other phases. The various panels displayed less agreement on the importance of the other phases. No distinct pattern emerged for college types or degree of political difficulty.

Chance of Success

In all cases, participants characterized the change of teacher education as a somewhat risky endeavor (see Table 8). In general, the groups in politically difficult settings estimated their chance of success to be slightly lower than did the groups in an easy situation. The differences among the estimates, however, were not very large. Only a difference of 9.1% was found between Panels 1 and 2, and 1.8% between Panels 3 and 4. Panels 5 and 6 reversed the pattern yet they had a difference of only 5.4%.

Conclusions

The general expectation guiding this research was supported, although weakly. Some choices were made in all situations, some choices in no situations, and a few choices were contingent on the situation. In specific in-

Table 7

Average Importance of Phases by Panel and Phase

	Panel					
	Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
	1 EP	2 DP	3 EP	4 DP	5 EP	6 DP
Phase 1	2 *	2.9	1.6	1.9	2.6	1.6
Phase 2	2.23	3.4	1.8	2.3	2.3	1.7
Phase 3	1.8	2.7	1.7	1.7	2.1	1.6
Phase 4	1.2	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.9	1.4
Phase 5	1.7	2.5	1.8	1.7	2.2	1.5
Phase 6	1.2	1.8	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.1

*1 = most important
5 = least important

Table 8

Average Chance of Success by Panel

Panel					
Large Public University		Small Public University		Small Private College	
1 EP	2 DP	3 EP	4 DP	5 EP	6 DP
84.1%	75.0	84.0	82.2	77.7	83.1

stances, however, some expectations were not met and, indeed, the opposite of what was expected occasionally occurred.

Any conclusion on the basis of this study, of course, is highly speculative. Data was collected in an exercise that simulated changes in a small subset of teacher-preparation practices. Only two planning contingencies were investigated (type of institution and political difficulty) but not thoroughly. The research design did not allow for the disentanglement of goal difficulty from technical difficulty effects on choices made in response to different levels of political difficulty. Further, the research design allowed for no controls. Therefore it is impossible to affirm that the choices resulted from the quasi-experimental manipulations, nonrandom assignment of participants, type of participants (i.e., teacher educators with varying administrative experience), differences in group dynamics, or simply random error variances. Finally, overall budgets were so generous that the participants may not have been "forced" to make choices in response to situational contingencies. Nonetheless, many choices do seem to make some intuitive sense and, thus, some conclusions, however speculative, seem warranted.

1. Teacher educators appear to behave somewhat contingently if given the choice. They seem to change their strategies and tactics as the situation changes in order to increase the likelihood of goal achievement. Specifically, there appear to be some things teacher educators always do, never do, and do contingent upon the situation, given constraints on budget and staff time. This finding accords with Bryson and Delbecq's (1979) previous conclusions based on an analogous simulated planning exercise. The results of the present study, however, do not demonstrate as much contingent behavior as did the earlier study. Several possible reasons for the differences in the present study include nonrandom assignment to panels, less standardized administration of instructions, excessively generous overall budgets for all panels, and excessive time constraints in the case of one panel.

2. The results of the exercise, which represent the pooled judgments of teacher educators, also represent a source of advice for teacher educators as they contemplate changing teacher preparation in response to Public Law 94-142. The advice may have been gathered under less than perfect conditions but it should not be ignored: Teacher educators should have a range of strategic and tactical choices in their repertoire; they should spend time diagnosing their situations; and they should select strategies and tactics appropriate to their situations.

3. At the same time, the pooled judgments also must be viewed as hypotheses which should be tested in the "real" world of teacher education. One would expect success to be more likely if the pooled judgments are followed but further research should be undertaken.

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Deans as Change Agents: Testing Assumptions of the Dean's Grant Program

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Recent changes in social policy, bolstered by judicial and legislative mandates, have brought about the need for rapid changes in many areas of education from elementary schools to institutions of higher education. Teacher-education programs at the college and university level have been doubly affected. (a) They are subject to the pervasive social influences on colleges and universities to become more responsive to the aspirations and needs of minority gr[illegible] students, including those with handicaps, and (b) they are expected to [illegible]ide for the public elementary and secondary schools teachers and other p[illegible]sonnel who are trained in the skills and knowledge necessary to serve the expanded mainstream population. Thus, teacher educators at the college and university level have had to become more responsive to educational innovations that mirror the changing social order. Traditionally, however, the participation of faculty members in educational innovation has been difficult to achieve for a number of reasons.

Universities by definition are social institutions and, as such, they tend to embrace their role as the perpetuator of "society's folkways, morals, and values" (Evans, 1968); this function can be construed as antithetical to change.

The dual collegial and hierarchical structure of universities has led to a faculty-administrative schism that inhibits innovation. This "tensioned pairing" (Bogue, 1977) often causes faculty members to operate as a system-within-a-system (Chamberlain, 1972); thus they tend to distrust changes that are initiated by the administration if they perceive the innovations to be

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potential infringements on the status quo and especially on the closely guarded mystique of academic freedom.

When the line-staff arrangement that is found in most organizational hierarchies is superimposed on the structural dichotomy of universities, additional obstacles are created. Management theories that support line-staff organization are predicated on the concept that the chief is the most capable (i.e., most knowledgeable) person in the organization. Traditional bureaucratic hierarchies, such as Weber's monocratic model (1947), emphasize the role and scope of authority, that is, all authority emanates from the chief executive officer and filters down, by progressive delegation, through the organizational ranks (Thompson, 1961; Zaltman, Duncan, & Holbek, 1973). Authority is perpetuated in a system of supervisor-subordinate relations in which the only legitimate source of influence on and power over the subordinate rests with the supervisor. In such a system, most rights of command, dominance, and control belong to the supervisor; the supervisor also has the right to expect complete loyalty and obedience. Most organizational theories and, to a large extent, management practices mirror this hierarchical structure, with varying adherence to the bureaucratic aspects of subservience and commitment.

For obvious reasons, faculty members in institutions of higher education who rely less upon administrative reinforcement and more upon collegial recognition within a narrow discipline for rewards do not always adhere to the notion of bureaucratic subservience and commitment. Indeed, they see themselves as the "key operatives [while] non-faculty personnel are there to make it possible for the faculty...to discharge their responsibilities" (Demerath, Stephens, & Taylor, 1967, p. 23). Consequently there exists a "growing gap and conflict between the right to decide (i.e., authority based on incumbency) and the ability to decide (i.e., authority based on technical competence)" (Thompson, 1961, p. 6). Such conflict tends to stymie innovative initiatives.

Institutions of higher education have earned the well-deserved reputation of being notoriously resistant to change. Witness Snow's (1961) observation:

> In a society like ours, academic patterns change more slowly than any others. In my lifetime, in England, they have crystallized rather than loosened. I used to think that it would be about as hard to change, say, the Oxford and Cambridge scholarship examination as to conduct a major revolution. I now believe that I was over-optimistic. (p. 186)

This resistance notwithstanding, internal changes do occur.

Demands for responsiveness to innovation durrently pervade the entire spectrum of higher education but they are particularly acute in colleges or schools of education. Indeed, teachers and teacher advocates have become so disillusioned and angered by the failures of teacher educators to respond to their pleas for help that they have begun to look elsewhere for leadership

in and solutions to their mounting problems. Many competitive organizations are even eager to address this potential market in public education. Therefore, in order to insure their future as educators of elementary and secondary school teachers, the universities and colleges must move quickly, in directions indicated by the complex issues faced by their clientele. Moreover, they must begin to provide leadership, through curricular innovation, in the development of useful strategies that will help pre-service and inservice educators to respond effectively to these issues.

The Change Strategy:

The Dean as a Change Agent

A number of approaches have been formulated in product-oriented business settings to bring about participation in innovation. One widely recognized strategy requires the identification of potential change agents who are in positions of authority and leadership, such as chief executive officers (CEOs), and the enlistment of their support for and commitment to the change process (Rothman, 1980). In higher education, the persons who most often serve in this capacity are deans, the administrative officers in charge of the colleges, faculties, or divisions of universities. They often possess the necessary clout, through the use of psychosocial and monetary rewards, to encourage members of their colleges to become involved in innovation.

At the same time, the leader's potential conflict as an advocate of change is apparent. Caught between the authority to legitimate innovation by encouraging new practices and the traditional pressure to maintain the status quo in the interest of stability, the individual in the key leadership position may have to risk chaos to achieve change. In most cases, the CEO's attitude, as determined by his/her beliefs and behaviors toward innovation in general and the innovation in question in particular, influences the amount of energy and risk which he/she will invest in promoting change and its acceptance (Rothman, 1980).

Governmental interest in deans as change agents is reflected in the Dean's Grant program which was initiated by the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (U. S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare) in 1975 and continued by the Office of Special Education Programs (U. S. Department of Education). The grants are specifically designed to stimulate revisions in the pre-service teacher-education curriculum to accord with the principles incorporated in The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, Public Law 94-142; thus they are competitively awarded to deans of schools and colleges of education who have indicated a commitment to the change process and the role of change agent.

The principles of Public Law 94-142 can be subsumed under the popular term, "mainstreaming." Simply stated, mainstreaming is the appropriate

placement of handicapped children in the least restrictive, or most enabling, environment (Bates, West, & Schmerl, 1977) and supplying them there with the special services they need. For many youngsters who have been denied or limited in access to education, mainstreaming has been hailed as a key to educational opportunity. Yet inadequate preparation of the teachers who must plan for and interact with mainstreamed children has led to a myriad of problems that have undermined and even threaten to destroy the fundamental notions of access and opportunity. Such efforts as Dean's Grant Projects (DGPs) are expected to result in the preparation of general education personnel who are highly qualified to work effectively with mainstreamed handicapped children.

DGPs are predicated on the notion that the dean, as the CEO and significant motivating force in a school of education, has the authority to initiate curricular changes in a teacher-education program so that current educational innovations, such as mainstreaming, are incorporated in the curriculum. The concept assumes that the potential for change is invested in the deanship, regardless of individual ability to mobilize that potential.

The DGP concept also assumes that the dean is willing to make use of the potential power that stems from the authority of his/her office to support change, as witnessed by her/his application for the grant. Indeed, the application presumes a high level of commitment to the change process, particularly to including in the curriculum the principles of Public Law 94-142. Coupled with the dean's visibility as the designated project director, this commitment is expected to increase the chances for the success of the innovation in teacher education. Therefore, a dean's confirmation of these assumptions validates the DGP concept and contributes to the project's success.

A strong case can be made for focusing on the dean as a potential change agent. The deanship is often considered the "last administrative role in academe where the work of administration and the professoriate can be blended" (Wisniewski, 1977, p. 12). An administrator as well as "authentic academic" (Rosenheim, 1963), the dean is in the position to bridge the distrust between faculty and administration and to enlist support for and participation in innovative endeavors from both camps.

The dilemma facing deans of education as CEOs is made up of circumstances that are unique to academe, such as academic freedom and tenure laws for faculty members, the level of the deans' autonomy in their colleges, the relation of the colleges to the larger university structures, and the statutes and requirements for teacher certification, set by state law, by which the deans must abide (Corson, 1975; Hefferlin, 1969; Wisniewski, 1977). Additionally, personal variables, such as individual length of tenure in the deanship, affiliated academic discipline, and leadership style in a highly specialized bureaucratic hierarchy, may confound administrative control and decision-making processes (Fullerton, 1978; Rosenheim, 1963). Moreover, external pressures, such as compliance with federal mandates to provide equal

educational access and opportunity, and pressures from local public schools and other constituent bodies, may constrict the breadth of administrative authority (Baldridge, 1971; Baldridge, Curtis, Ecker, & Riley, 1978). Finally, temporal concerns, such as those determined by past involvement with innovation (Mohr, 1969) and the amount of time that is available for present and future investment in innovation, may constrain organizational and individual commitment to the innovative process. Some of or all these factors may be at work, creating a climate that impedes the effectiveness of the dean as a promoter of change.

Despite these constraints, DGPs are the strongest support mechanism for changing the preparation of teachers. Awarded in 1980-81 to 141 colleges and universities, more than $20 million have been allocated to support the concept since 1975. Additionally, DGP monies are now being distributed to deans to support innovations in bilingual education programs. Yet few studies have been undertaken to verify the efficacy of deans as change agents.

The Study of Deans as Change Agents

In order to assess deans' perceptions of their ability to promote change in schools of education, the personal, institutional, external, and temporal factors that support or impede that ability, and the influence of past and current innovative involvement on deans' perceptions, the study reported here was carried out to test several specific assumptions of the DGPs. These assumptions are as follows: (a) the authority to promote change is invested in the deanship, and (b) the dean, in his/her commitment to the change process, is willing to use the power stemming from the authority of his/her office to support change efforts that will bring about the inclusion of the concepts of Public Law 94-142 in the teacher-education curriculum. From these assumptions, the following research questions were derived:

1. Do deans of schools of education perceive that they have the ability to promote change?
2. Do target faculty members perceive their deans to have the ability to promote change in the school of education.
3. What factors affect the deans' perceptions of their ability to promote innovation?
4. Is there a relation between deans' perceptions of their ability to promote change and successful conduct of Dean's Grant Projects?
5. Do deans' past behaviors in regard to innovation in general and mainstreaming in particular affect their perceptions of their ability to promote the inclusion of mainstreaming concepts in the teacher-education curricula.

Survey Sample

Deans of colleges of education holding grants in 1980-81 (n = 137) were

invited to participate in a national survey whose purpose was to explore relations among a number of variables. Responses were used to provide a demographic and descriptive profile of the projects.

Questionnaires were sent to the directors of Dean's Grant Projects and, consequently, included deans, associate and assistant deans, department chairpersons, and academic vice presidents. When the individuals were in positions hierarchically below the deanship level (i.e., nonadministrative faculty members), their responses were excluded, as were those of deans who were not acting as project directors. Additionally, the responses of people in two consortia projects were excluded because of the potential inconsistencies of their responses. Thus, although the survey response rate was 81.0% (n = 111), only 75.9% (n = 104) of the projects were included in the data analysis and interview selection.

Survey results provided the basis for follow-up interviews at 16 project sites. The selection of sites for interviews was made on the basis of survey responses in four areas. In order of priorities, they were (a) size of education faculty at the institution, (b) dollar amount of grant, (c) regional location, and grant year (see Fig. 1).[1] The first two variables were the more important. The four variables were chosen because of their perceived influence on the applicability and effectiveness of the DGPs. Grant year and dollar amount were included because of the general belief that change takes time and money; that is, larger, longer-lived grants potentially have greater influence. Additionally, the deans in these instances may have more tangible resources to bolster their stated commitment to change. Such perceptions are mitigated, however, by the size of the target population, in this case, the college of education faculty. Colleges with larger faculties may take longer and need more money to effect change. In sum, the use of these variables seemed appropriate to determine the potential effectiveness of deans' change efforts.

Interview Format

After the 16 DGPs were identified, one-hour interviews were held with each dean in situ. Previous involvement in innovation in general and mainstreaming in particular was explored, as well as perceptions of the need for curricular innovation. To assess the particular level of commitment to the DGP and to include the concepts of Public Law 94-142 in curricula, attitudes toward handicaps and knowledge of the law were explored also. In addition, the interviews were used to determine the deans' criteria for successful DGPs, the level of involvement which a dean must have to facilitate meeting these criteria, the environmental factors that impede or support meeting the criteria, and the motivation for securing DGP funding. Moreover, the likelihood of

[1]All illustrative materials follow the text.

alternate arrangements, which could facilitate curricular change in a more direct and/or appropriate manner than DGPs, was addressed.

Because of the possibility that deans' perceptions of their ability to promote change may be distorted, two members of each school's target faculty also were interviewed for purposes of cross-validation. Their perceptions of the level of innovative activity and the dean's ability to promote change appropriately served this purpose. Additionally, faculty involvement in and perceptions of innovative efforts, particularly those related to mainstreaming concepts, provided some measure of target faculty members' support for the curricular inclusion of Public Law 94-142 principles.

Interview Sample

At the 16 schools selected for follow-up interviews, the project directors comprised 11 deans of schools or colleges of education, 1 associate dean of a college of education, 2 academic deans who had jurisdiction over education departments, 1 teacher-education director, and 1 academic vice-president (a former dean of the school of education). Tenure in the specific deanship ranged from 1-20 years. All individuals, at some point, had been members of college faculties.

All institutional types were represented in the sample except for the nonsectarian independent college. They included 2 sectarian-affiliated colleges, 2 sectarian-affiliated universities, 1 nonsectarian independent university, 1 public college, and 10 public universities; 2 of the latter were black institutions historically.

Thirty-one target faculty members were interviewed to cross-validate the deans' perceptions of their role as change agents. They were selected because of their participation in the DGPs. None was a regular, grant-supported employee, such as project coordinator, although some of the individuals had been given release time to pursue DGP curricular change activities. Of these 31 faculty members, 8 were serving as department chairpersons: 3 in educational foundations, and 1 each in educational psychology, early childhood education, vocational education, elementary and secondary education, and special education; 1 was the director of field experiences; 5 held appointments in elementary education (methods and supervision of field placement); 1 was in secondary education; 2 were in educational psychology; 2 were in business education; 3 were in reading; and 1 each was in child development, science education, math education, foundations, vocational education, and education for the gifted and talented.

Both junior and senior, tenured and nontenured faculty members, were represented. Although two faculty members were in their second years as assistant professors, they were the exception rather than the rule; most faculty members had been associated with their institutions for a number of years. Indeed, two senior professors had been members of the university's initial faculty.

Survey Responses

Profile of Respondents

Typically, the survey respondents (n = 104) were middle-aged male deans of schools of education holding Ph.D. or Ed.D. degrees and full professorships. Although length of time they had been in office varied, over half had held their positions for from 1-6 years and another quarter, for over 10 years. More than two-thirds served in public universities; another 11.5% were affiliated with public colleges; 8.7%, with nonsectarian independent colleges; and 5.8%, with nonsectarian independent universities. Five deans (4.8%) held office in sectarian-affiliated colleges and only 2.9% were associated with sectarian-affiliated universities.

Institutional size ranged from under 1,000 to over 15,000 students wi the larger schools predominating, both in size of the institution as a whol and in enrollment in education. Enrollment data are displayed in Table 1.

Education faculty size followed the pattern set by institutional size: Few schools (n = 6) had under 10 education members (5.8%) and almost one-third (29.8%) reported over 100 (n = 31); the remaining four categories between 10 and 99 were relatively evenly split (see Table 2).

Key Relations

The survey data show many interrelations among the variables; a summary is presented in Table 3. Only the relations that are critical to this report--age of dean and size of institution--are discussed here. For the relations between age of dean and 17 other variables see Table 4.

The older the deans the longer they had been in office. Moreover, the dean's age correlated with many institutional factors, for example, older deans more often were affiliated with universities than colleges, and with institutions that offered advanced degrees and enrolled larger numbers of students (total institution as well as school of education). In keeping with the size relations, age of dean was significantly higher at institutions that employed greater numbers of education faculty members. Increasing age also was associated with tenure and professorial rank.

Of importance to this study is the finding that deans' confidence in their ability to organize curricular reform efforts decreased with age. Older deans believed that other faculty members could do as well or better than they in directing the DGPs, perhaps because as age increased the deans perceived themselves as lacking the time for total commitment to the innovation. At the same time, increased age was related to the deans' perceptions of themselves as less involved in DGP planning; they perceived their faculty colleagues to see them as less highly involved overall in the DGPs and in curricular innovation in general.

Total institutional enrollment was positively related to the size of the

education faculty and to the number of students in education. However, institutional size was related inversely to the number of undergraduates in education and correlated negatively with schools whose sole focus was teacher preparation.

With increases in the school's size, undergraduates more often enrolled in the school of education when they were upperclassmen rather than freshmen or sophomores.

The analysis also shows that the larger the school of education, the more likely its size was to be associated with overall faculty involvement in curricular innovation. At the larger schools, the dean's role in motivating faculty involvement in innovation may be limited; however, deans noted that their efforts to encourage curricular innovation were hampered by a climate of institutional resistance to change. These deans also perceived teacher-education faculties to be significantly less interested and currently less involved in curricular innovation than did deans of smaller schools of education. Increasing size also was linked with the deans' perceptions that teacher-education faculties saw them as being significantly less involved in the DGPs.

Interview Responses

To facilitate the analysis of the responses to questions asked in direct interviews, this section is organized according to the five research questions from which the interview questions were derived. Thus, the research question precedes the related interview questions and response.

Research Question 1. Do deans of schools of education perceive that they have the ability to promote change?

Research Question 2. Do target faculty members perceive their deans to have the ability to promote change in the school of education?

Interview Question #1. What do you think about the concept that cites the dean as the key change agent in a school of education?

Responses of Deans

There was open discouragement of the notion that a dean had the power to make change occur. However, even the most collegial-oriented deans felt that their support for DGPs was helpful and, in most cases, absolutely critical to the projects' success. Conversely, there was general agreement that a perceptible lack of support (either overt or covert) by the dean was the "kiss of death" for the DGP.

Uniform agreement with the concept was discerned, although there was great variation among deans over how they perceived their ability to promote change. Every dean was adamant in stating that ultimately, curricular change rested with the faculty. However, the effectiveness and impact of the dean's involvement in the change process seemed to depend on the character of the

institution, level of faculty autonomy, dean's personality, and, to a lesser degree, size of faculty. Two deans at large schools, who characterized their personal leadership styles as highly collegial and their faculty as highly autonomous, saw the dean's role simply as a communication facilitator among faculty members. In a third, large, research-oriented institution, a dean expressed the belief that his power was limited to calling meetings: "That shouldn't be underestimated...people do come to the dean's meeting...I don't have the power to say 'do this' but I can call people together with a priority in the college and they'll accept it."

There emerged the pervasive theme that the dean was able to emphasize the DGP objectives in such a way that they became a top priority for the school of education and, consequently, for the faculty members who otherwise would not invest their energies in project-related activities. In other words, the dean had the ability to expedite the change process, to "get the word out [and] set the stage for change." On the other hand, overemphasizing the dean's role, that is, regarding the project as the dean's project, could have a negative effect. One dean of a large, teaching-oriented, highly departmentalized school, whose grant was in its fourth year, noted that his initial investment in the grant was stronger than in most other activities and that that investment had made faculty members reticent to get involved. "So we had to back up and start again."

The deans saw their ability to cut across interdepartmental territorialism and to communicate with other schools on the campus as an important asset in support of the DGP concept. They often cited their responsibility for "seeing the broader picture"; they could act as "prime mover[s] in identifying areas of need." Rather than dictating the particulars of how curricular change would take place, most deans saw their role as providing leadership and support to the change process. One dean summed it up as follows:

> I don't care if it's mainstreaming or whatever else it is, this is a position of leadership. I don't have all the answers, and I don't know how to do it all, but I'd better be demonstrating interest in the change process....I think that there's no question about my support [for the project] ...no question about my interest. But it's not really the Dean's Grant; I just don't think it would work, in the long run, that way.

Several deans expressed surprise at the strength of their influence. "I'm a little bit amazed at what other people tell me my influence is....[The project staff tell me] 'if you say it, people will pay attention'." This view was particularly common among deans who had been in office for great lengths of time, perhaps 10 or more years. They had old, established relations with their faculties; in many cases, many faculty members had been hired by the dean. In one instance, the dean, a veteran of 20 years in the deanship, denied being an authority figure, objecting to the notion of the DGPs, stating, "I'm just another person [on the faculty]."

In another candid response, which reflected the beliefs of many of the deans, a long-time dean noted:

> I know that people think deans are different and all this; but usually they're so busy throwing bricks at [us], I've never thought they thought we had any real power or influence. But supposedly we do. You know, it's all in the eye of the beholder.

Responses of Faculty Members

Faculty responses almost entirely could be classified as supporting the concept of DGPs. Despite the various levels of authority which the dean exercised in response to and over curricular change, a uniformity existed across institutions to lend credence to the notion that the dean initiated and promoted change efforts. At two of the larger, research-oriented institutions, the dean's influence was muted by the high degree of faculty autonomy, nonetheless its existence was admittedly present.

In some cases, the deans were seen as the best people to promote change because they held the pursestrings and could use their authority "to delegate responsibility, appoint people, get things done." At other sites, the deans' involvement was seen as a way "to attract faculty attention. People at universities work from their own interests, with varying degrees of groupness so there has to be a return to the professor for his[/her] investment." Several faculty members classified this "return" in terms of release time, material and human support, or simple recognition.

At several schools, the deans' influence was tantamount to an outright mandate. A Chairman of Educational Foundations stated, "The concept is right, just and true; that is, he is the man with the power and if he says 'implement!' it will be implemented."

Oftentimes, the open support of the dean was seen as impressive and unique. "Our dean is cautious, and this grant allows him the luxury of not being cautious." At the same time, most faculty members felt that the dean's support was critical to the project's success. In many instances, it was this support, manifested both overtly and covertly, that was attributed to the inroads they perceived these grants had made. Conversely, professors felt that if the dean were disinterested or uninvolved in the project, "it would hurt because faculty would be aware that it is not a favored thing to do."

Finally, there was an air of recognition among faculty members that the DGP concept was unique. Several individuals expressed the opinion that the DGP "had been good for the dean," that he was more involved than usual, and that the faculty-dean relation had been strengthened through mutual involvement. On one faculty, where the dean was known as "The Silver Shadow," two faculty members agreed that the dean was generally a quiet leader, "not usually a cheerleader type, and there ought to be more things that ought to happen [which involve him]." They saw the dean's involvement as promoting an

atmosphere of leadership and direction, a sense that "the college is really concerned about this."

Interview Question #2. Could others do as well as the deans in directing DGPs?

Responses of Deans

This question elicited varied and interesting reactions. It was intended to probe the concept of DGPs--that the dean is the best person to promote change in the school of education. But it was often construed in such a way that the deans felt somewhat reticent about admitting their influence. For example, one dean was quick to respond, "Certainly, I could leave this place tomorrow and things would go on." Another added, "Why indeed I do! I think there are others here who would be more knowledgeable."

But when the question was restated in terms of the DGP concept, that the power to promote change was invested in the deanship, all the deans acknowledged the potential. One response underscored it: "This is not a vain comment, but I guess within the college the highest support would come from whoever occupies the dean's office."

The deans agreed upon the great potential of their positions. Yet some recurring issues surfaced that would make other faculty members appear to be more desirable project directors. These issues included time, expertise, and the personality and leadership style of the dean.

"The thing that would be important is that people would have to act in the reflective light of the dean's position, but in terms of time and expertise, there are many members of the faculty who could do better." One dean, who felt that his power lay largely in calling meetings and then acting as a conduit and setting priorities, thought that there were many people "who don't have administrative positions who could call together a group," and could be better in the director's position than he was because of their personalities. However, most deans who could name specific individuals capable of running the DGPs also were aware of the risk of proposing such a scheme on a national level; they felt that Dean's Grant discretionary funds should be given to the dean.

It is fair to say that in no instances were the deans actually "running" the day-to-day activities of the project; the project coordinator served in this capacity. The importance of the project coordinator to a project's success should not be underestimated. Over and over, the deans pointed to the work of their coordinators as the primary reason for the strides the grants had made. In many cases, when asked if anyone else could do as well, the deans named the project coordinator and commented that that was the person who was, in actuality, running the DGP anyhow. However, although "it may not be necessary to literally have the dean as the director,...the dean must commit a positive attitude toward the proposal," to use the language of the

proposal. Thus, the combination of a knowledgeable, available project coordinator who has the overt, visible support of the dean appears to be the most highly endorsed strategy for running the DGP.

The three second-cycle grants provided some especially interesting responses to this question. No original coordinator was still at any institution, and the change in coordinators appeared to have affected the personality and direction of the DGP. Certainly, these three deans were less dependent than were the deans of newer grants on the project coordinator's assurance of the on-going nature of the project. They sensed the need for "broad faculty involvement; [since] the curricular program belong[ed] to the faculty, so faculty must be involved." These deans sought to diffuse ownership of the project, preferring to use their offices for strategic influence.

Responses of Faculty Members

Faculty members were uniformly in agreement with the belief that the dean's influence was a key factor in making the dean the best person to direct the DGP. From small, administratively dominated schools to large, research-oriented universities, the power of the dean's office was viewed as necessary to attract attention and sustain momentum for the DGP. "Anybody could direct, but you need the power of the dean to get faculty to respond." At one large, research-oriented southwestern university, the dean was seen as the "main honcho...and if he does not come across at least depicting the fact that he is interested in this project, then nothing's going to happen."

The authority of the deanship was viewed as being important for two reasons: (a) It gave the sense that "this was a priority for the school," attracting the faculty's attention to the mandate and the university's role in facilitating its success. (b) It provided a "carrot" for involving faculty members across departments, cutting through the territoriality that often narrows the scope of innovation.

Interview Question #3: How do opinion leaders on the faculty see the Dean's Grant?

Responses of Deans and Faculty Members

Because, on many campuses, there may not be a single set of opinion leaders, this question evoked a variety of responses, many of which dealt with the denial of a designated set of opinion leaders. One dean stated, "We don't have individuals who have sufficient sway to lead people down a certain path unfettered." In a sense, the issues of territoriality and departmentalism were prevalent. One faculty member felt that members of her department initially had been suspicious that the grant was part of an attempt to wipe out the department. A dean noted that he "could point to people on the edges who don't like [the grant]."

These sentiments, however, were the exception rather than the rule. In

most instances, the deans stated and the faculty agreed, the DGPs were generally seen as a positive effort, that there was little attempt "to undermine [the project] or lay obstacles," and that a feeling of faculty support, if not outright involvement prevailed.

Research Question 3. What factors affect the deans' perceptions of their ability to promote innovation?

Interview Question #4. Is there pressure on the university for change? How about specific pressure for mainstreaming content?

Responses of Deans

By and large, deans were resistant to the term "pressure for change." Many were careful to point out that they were not in favor of "change for change's sake" and that they did not look favorably upon policies or personnel that seemed "to chase after every new wrinkle." Moreover, "pressure" did not appear to meet the deans' ideas of why change would or should occur. Terms such as "heightened awareness" and "staff development" appeared to yield more positive responses.

Several deans agreed that there was pressure for change, largely from the media. One dean stated, "I think there are pressures. One comes from the public in general--these horrible articles in Time about how teachers can't teach and other things like that, undermining confidence in teacher education." But many others felt that there was little direct pressure for change; that such pressure, where it did exist, was manifested more in the form of individual faculty members' needs to respond to particular issues in the field, rather than of institutional responses.

Deans felt that there had been little pressure for more mainstreaming content in the teacher-education curricula, although they were well aware of the problems of compliance with the law. Many expressed close, working relations between the IHEs and local districts, but they apparently had not seen any real dissatisfaction or desire for a change in direction or programs.

Responses of Faculty Members

Several faculty members agreed that pressures on schools of education were rising. One junior faculty member stated that she and her colleagues were actually ill-prepared to meet the demands made by returning teachers seeking information on Public Law 94-142 and handicappism. Another felt that pressure came from the fact that so much needed to be done to prepare students and so little time existed in which to do so.

Nonetheless, a large minority contingent did not believe that the universities were being pressured to change, largely because the level of interaction between faculty and students was seen as within the individual faculty member's domain. Therefore, from faculty to faculty, it appeared that individual "heightened awareness" of the needs of the field seemed to have a

more direct effect on perceptions of pressure for change than did any of the broader influences, such as the media.

Interview Question #5: What is your personal opinion about Public Law 94-142 and mainstreaming, both philosophically and practically?

Responses of Deans and Faculty Members

Support for the spirit of the law was unequivocal with the exception of one faculty member. Many of the respondents echoed sentiments such as that stated by a dean: "This is an issue that we as a nation have needed to face for a long time." The concept of the open-door policy of schooling in which "everyone who can walk or roll in the door ought to be there" was often referred to as support for the concept of the least restrictive environment. In a few cases deans were careful to note that Public Law 94-142 was not mandated at the university level, yet most accepted and agreed with the premise of the university's responsibility to prepare teachers so they could do an effective job upon placement in the public school environment. Indeed, one dean stated his position rather succinctly: "When one's survival depends on knowing about [Public Law] 94-142, we learn about it. I don't like to have federal mandates. On the other hand...sometimes we need to be pushed. We've been pushed hard on this." Of the 16 deans and 31 faculty members who were interviewed, only one professor pronounced mainstreaming "a lousy idea" because it was not supported by research and because money to support the mandate was being siphoned off from other deserving programs.

Linking philosophy with practicality, many deans and faculty members raised concerns over the public misinterpretation of Public Law 94-142, noting that it had been construed in many instances as the right to "dump" handicapped children into public school classrooms. The term "mainstreaming" itself came under attack in several instances; one dean preferred the term "least restrictive environment" because of the "negativism" that was associated with "mainstreaming"; two more pointed out that the term "mainstreaming" was not mentioned anywhere in the law itself. One senior faculty member, with a long history of involvement with exceptionality in young children, noted that Public Law 94-142 was "very ambitious [and] often misinterpreted; part of the alarm on the part of teachers is with the blanket term 'mainstreaming'."

These concerns notwithstanding, the responses to the practical implications of mainstreaming were relatively uniform. Of the entire population, only one dean seemed to downplay the problems of implementation, noting that "[resistance to the concept] is probably idiosyncratic rather than an institutionalized attitude." In two interviews, faculty members felt that their experiences led them to believe that, with support, the concept was intact and "teachers [were] willing to go along with it." However, virtually all

other responses reflected a pervasive concern, if not downright pessimism, with the implementation process. Citing the lack of appropriate funding, insufficient teacher and administrative preparation, the general overburdening of the public schools, and the lack of time in which to upgrade teachers' attitudes and skills, these deans and teacher educators expressed fear for the success of the concept inasmuch as public schools "violate the spirit but conform to the letter of the law." Noting the possibility of a backlash, and the fear that current administrative emphases and cutbacks may undermine the perceived federal emphasis on equal opportunity, the respondents nonetheless believed that the concept of mainstreaming was here to stay, but that "like a lot of other things it'll have a place but the emphasis will drop off."

Many respondents cited, as a problem, their own lack of information and insight to exceptionality. One dean expressed this perception: "We ask practitioners to do things for which they aren't trained, and also things that colleges aren't doing...some faculty members are being asked questions for which they don't have answers." A junior professor supported this concern, noting that many if not most faculty members had not worked in the public schools since Public Law 94-142 had taken effect, and that returning graduate students were much more knowledgeable about the issue than were teacher educators. Indicating this problem, she felt that university faculty members had to push themselves harder and faster than they were being asked to do, moving "beyond awareness at the school of education level." However, her concern that teacher educators needed to be able to modify and synthesize materials, assess disability levels, and develop other skill areas in order to be effective with their students, was not generally reflected by the larger group.

Research Question 4. Is there a relation between deans' perceptions of their ability to promote change and successful conduct of the Dean's Grant Projects?

Interview Question #6: How has the dean been involved in the Dean's Grant Project?

Responses of Deans

The deans' participation in projects was largely seen as active support: presence at faculty retreats and workshops, memos on DGP activities, attendance at advisory council meetings and strategic planning with project coordinators, and mention of the grant, whenever possible, in public speeches. In general, deans indicated that they were not involved in the day-to-day running of the grant for several reasons.

1. They didn't have the time for the arduous task of project organization and activity. They often characterized themselves as "delegators of responsibility," assuming that those in whom they invested that responsibility would keep them informed and ask for assistance.

2. Most deans noted that other faculty members had more expertise than they did in the areas of exceptionality and Public Law 94-142, and they were willing to make use of those skills. One dean, a trained special educator, faced close faculty scrutiny when he initiated DGP activities, and he was questioned on his intentions: "If you weren't in special education, would you still support this?" Most deans lacked this in-depth training, still they were articulate and knowledgeable about the law and its ramifications. Many noted that their increased understanding was a spin-off of the DGPs. "It's not my major, but I guess I'm aware of it about as much as anything that's not my major." Nonetheless, the deans, as a rule, tried to rely on the skills of both special and regular education faculty members, through project coordinators and advisory committees, to keep the DGPs going.

3. Most important, several deans were aware that their on-going active participation might be perceived as coercive or heavy-handed by specific faculty members. Inasmuch as curricular matters were perceived as being the province of the faculty, the deans were careful to avoid making the grant the "dean's pet" and getting involved in issues of academic freedom. Moreover, a few deans suggested that their involvement might make some faculty members oppose the grant on principle.

Many deans expressed a gradual decline in the amount of time they spent with their DGPs after the first year. It appeared that once they got the project started, dependence on the project coordinator and faculty committees seemed sufficient to meet the grants' goals. Thereafter, strategic visibility seemed to be a role with which most deans were comfortable.

Responses of Faculty Members

Faculty members tended to see the dean as supporting DGP activities but their perspectives lacked uniformity. In some settings, individuals expressed surprise at the dean's level of involvement. One faculty member opined that the grant originally had not been the dean's idea, but that the award gave him a chance to provide support and leadership in "a look to the future." Another noted that his dean was "mildly enthusiastic about the project; [and that he was generally] a prudent man [who] doesn't get excited over anything."

One faculty member expressed disappointment that the dean was not more actively involved in project activities, hoping for greater visibility, and questioned the dean's commitment to the project. Several others felt that the dean's level of involvement, even if minimal, was sufficient to meet the project goals. "I suspect that someone else conceived the idea of proposing the Dean's Grant, and he went along with it....And I think he will support additional change if someone else initiates it and pretty much does the work ...." Another suggested that the dean was "very bright, but he's not a mover and a shaker," but this was on a campus that was strongly faculty dominated, and "most faculty don't want it any other way."

Finally, in some cases, faculty members did not perceive the deans' involvement to be out of the ordinary. At a school that prided itself on being innovative, a faculty member stated that the dean "comes [to DGP meetings], but she also comes to my methods workshops." Another faculty member, chair of a department of elementary and secondary education, noted that the dean was "very supportive of any type of change that would be working toward our program goals."

Interview Question #7: Where did you first hear about Deans' Grants?

Responses of Deans

For newer grants, that is, those in the first cycle of funding, awareness of the Dean's Grant program usually came from interactions with other deans or through affiliations with professional organizations such as the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE). One dean of a new project first read about the concept in the U.S. Department of Education RFP; two more reported that members of their special education faculties had approached them with the idea.

For the three second-cycle grants, early awareness of the concept was harder to trace. One dean inherited the grant in the middle of its third year, but he already had known about the concept in his previous deanship; in fact, his school had tried unsuccessfully to secure funding. The two other deans with second-cycle awards were instrumentally involved in the initial grant writing and negotiation. Both had sought a way to promote significant faculty development. "When it became apparent this was right down our alley,...I collared a few people and said, 'Look, we're gonna write this.'" As an indication of his level of commitment, a dean with a second-cycle grant commented that when his first proposal application was turned down, he went "back to the faculty to give it another try."

Interview Question #8: Has your own knowledge of Public Law 94-142 and mainstreaming increased as a result of your involvement with the Dean's Grant Project?

Responses of Deans

Although the Dean's Grant concept was not directly intended to increase deans' knowledge of Public Law 94-142, increased knowledge appeared to be an important spin-off. In every interview, the deans responded articulately and knowledgeably about the law and its implications.

For some deans, participation in DGPs was seen as an extension of their activities in other areas of educational opportunity. Two deans who, at much earlier points in their careers, had been classroom teachers with mainstreamed children, pointed out the value of that early experience. Two other deans, with backgrounds in special education, were very familiar with the problems

of mainstreaming and the need for teachers to be trained in this area: "I feel very strongly about meeting the needs of those kids." Another dean, formerly an educational psychologist, noted that he felt "comfortable with the concept of individualization" which Public Law 94-142 demanded. Finally, one dean admitted that his increased understanding of the problems of implementation had affected other areas of his administration, in that he had greater understanding of how difficult it could be to carry out mandates that were dictated from "on high," and that it was often times a mistake to prescribe the specific ways in which faculty members should respond to a college- or university-wide need.

It was sometimes difficult to discern whether the deans' knowledge of mainstreaming was a function of participation in the DGPs or its pervasiveness in the educational arena. When asked whether his knowledge of Public Law 94-142 had increased as a result of his involvement with the Dean's Grant program, one dean replied, "Well, we've heard it enough--every meeting you go to, you know. You'd have to be blind, deaf, and dumb yourself if you didn't know about it. I don't think that it's that we're brighter; it's just that we've been hit over the head with it so much."

> Research Question 5. Do deans' past behaviors in regard to innovation in general and mainstreaming in particular affect their perceptions of their ability to promote the inclusion of mainstreaming concepts in the teacher-education curriculum?

Interview Question #9. How effective would you judge your grant to be?

Responses of Deans

With some hesitation, deans were remarkably positive about the effectiveness of their DGPs. Many were careful to state qualified optimism, preferring to wait for forthcoming evaluation feedback. However, anticipated success was the prevailing response.

First-year grant recipients were particularly optimistic. Several deans with first-year grants expressed enthusiasm and satisfaction with their success to date, giving special credit to the project coordinators' commitment and knowledge. Most deans pointed to an increased awareness of Public Law 94-142 on the part of the faculty as an indication of the project's progress; there was some expectation that the grant was well-received by the faculty because it was "something we needed to do."

Second- and third-year projects gave more restricted but also more substantial praise. One dean, who thought that his school's DGP had been "amazingly successful," attributed the success to a combination of factors, including the project coordinator's competence and a new state law that mandated course work in the area of exceptionality for all new teachers. Another dean of a second-year, large-school project noted its overall value, adding

that it was "frustrating to see what need[ed] to be done and not be able to move things along [at a quicker pace]." A dean at a small public college admitted that knowing all the faculty members helped him to meet his objectives for the DGP but, he added, "The ultimate measure will be the impact on the public schools three, four, or five years down the road, and we're going to meet that [need]."

Finally, one dean at a small school whose funding cycle was ending, and who had not applied for further funding, voiced his concern with and highly limited approval of his project's effectiveness. Expressing some difficulty in keeping faculty participation alive, he stated, "I fear that we haven't been too effective yet--we just haven't put it all together."

Overall, these reservations seemed to stem from an awareness of the unevenness of the change process, as well as a growing insight that real, institutionalized change takes time and sustained effort, and that "some things in the change process are fortuitous and some take place with the dean's actions."

Second-cycle grants reflected this resignation to a significant degree. Each of the three deans at these schools noted that their projects had made progress, but they also recognized the existence of a hard-core group of faculty members who were resistant if not impossible to change. On the other hand, these deans noted the existence of a solid but small group of change agents within their faculties, who were usually not power brokers but who could be counted on to support the project. Noting that they "could not afford to forget about laggards," each dean expressed the willingness to keep working at change, expecting that, even though they were less involved with their DGPs now, their efforts would pay off by the end of this grant cycle.

Responses of Faculty Members

Faculty members were not so uniformly positive as the deans about the success of the DGPs but, for the most part, they expressed a positive sense that the DGPs were filling an important need. In part, the individuals who gave qualified support were uncomfortable in trying to assess the overall impact of the DGP rather than its specific effect on them.

Many faculty members stated that the DGP served an important incentive "to call mainstreaming to the attention of teacher education...if it were not for the Dean's Grant, involvement would be peripheral at best." Several faculty members at schools with first-year grants endorsed the concept, saying that, at a minimum, faculty members were aware of the mandate and were positive about the existence of the DGP.

In some instances support was more reserved. One faculty member at a school with a second-year grant felt that the DGP had been effective only for a limited number of people, he said, "Some faculty might say 'What Dean's Grant?'" His colleague agreed that "it hasn't moved mountains," adding, "It's

been felt [by many of the faculty]."

Several faculty members noted that the DGP expedited some faculty development which otherwise might not have occurred or would have occurred at a slower pace. Often, the DGP was cited as a linkage among departments, giving professors a chance to start talking to each other. "We had some things going in the department but our influence would not have extended into other departments, so I don't think [our field experiences] would have happened without the project." Other faculty members noted that the project provided many tangential areas of growth--spin-offs--for them which both increased their knowledge of exceptionality and expanded their field of interest. "Without this grant, there's no way I would have been involved in [this field experience].... I think my teaching units on exceptionality are much enhanced by [the fact that I and other] faculty are out in the schools."

One professor noted that "the grant came at the right time," when faculty members were being forced to re-examine programs and retrench because of sagging enrollments. "It gave us an opportunity to look at our total program," said one department chairman, adding that the DGP on his campus had been "accepted very well."

Often, faculty autonomy was the underlying theme. Faculty members became involved in the DGP, said one senior faculty member, "when they saw the connection [with their own work]." Although the basic premise of educating the education faculty was seen as sound, the concept of the faculty monolith ("faculty feel") was carefully skirted by many professors who limited their comments to their department, if not solely to their own experience. The strength of this individualism is summed up in comments by two faculty members at very different institutions: "You're very, very free here....Nobody's ever paid the slightest attention to what you're teaching....For those who wanted to try new things, I think [the DGP] has been beneficial. We need to do more, but it's a beginning."

Analysis of Interview Data

Dean's Grant Projects and Other Innovations

There is a strong possibility that DGPs are perceived differently from other curricular innovations.

1. DGP monies are predicated on deans' being project directors. Thus, the dean is no longer simply someone who signs off on other people's projects. Rather, with a pervasive sense of ownership, the dean assumes the role of a change agent. This is the Dean's Grant, not necessarily in the negative sense that broader participation in the resulting activities is discouraged but in the positive sense that achieving the project's goals is a high priority for the school.

2. Monies for DGPs are largely discretionary. Granted that the funds

are intended to promote curricular changes that facilitate the inclusion of mainstreaming concepts in teacher-education curricula, nevertheless how the funds are to be used are left to each dean. Thus the dean has the discretion to tailor the project to the specific needs of the school, making the grants very unique and, consequently, very difficult to measure in terms of conceptual effectiveness.

3. Although the awards are not generally considered to be large, the fact that they are largely discretionary gives each dean some leeway in their use; in times of shrinking resources and tight budgets, these dollars can become critical in achieving "extracurricular" goals, such as program modifications or innovative programs. Especially for those deans with restricted budgetary discretion, DGP monies are important.

The Dean as Change Agent

Granted that the concept of deanship varies from school to school in terms of responsibilities, personality, and import (Hefferlin, 1969), certain issues predominate in all institutions. One foremost issue is the power of the dean in relation to the faculty. The growth of higher education inevitably has increased the power of the people in charge and, at the same time, the power of certain well-reputed faculty members.

> Deans appear [to faculty] to have the opportunity, some would have it, to be just about anything they want to be: prop[illegible], prime movers, or keepers of the status quo; skul[illegible]llectors, or servants of the faculty; trail blaze[illegible], or weather vanes; builders, or housekeepers; ma[illegible]ericks, or lackeys to the president. But to hear the dean speak of [his/her] position, one would think that it affords little opportunity for the exercise of leadership, strong or weak. (Gould, 1964, p. 4)

Whatever power is actually vested in the deanship is often jeopardized by "the peculiar system of authority in higher education in which management is widely shared with those who are also the subject of management" (Brown, 1969, p. 49). This peculiarity is magnified in a system in which collegial recognition is considered to be at least as important as managerial rewards (Baldridge, 1971; Baldridge et al., 1978; Caplow & McGee, 1958).

The tendency to select deans from the ranks of the professoriate underscores this dilemma. There is a pervasive assumption that the "deans of education reflect the expectations of the professoriate from which they came and with whom they interact" (Wisniewski, 1977, p. 6). However, the people who are selected to be deans also must display the ability to maintain and support the aims of particular institutions (Gould, 1964; Wisniewski, 1977). As long as the two roles are in accord, a dean can carry out his/her responsibilities with minimal conflict. However, as the positions become less harmonious and more dissonant, which increasingly is the case in organizations that must

respond with a limited budget to a diverse set of demands, the dean's role becomes one of juggling positions to find a solution that is satisfactory (or at least acceptable) to all sides. Professors who believe that the dean should act as a faculty advocate often condemn this moderation as "selling out," relegating the dean to a position of "amateur administrator" (Scott, 1979). The dean is seen in this light as being unable or unwilling to take the faculty's point of view and stand up to central administrators, and not allow him/herself to be pushed aside when tough educational policy decisions must be made (Joughlin, 1963).

The dean's role, then, is precariously dependent on finding the middle ground between faculty and administration. This position often forces a dean to earn his/her power by responsiveness (some might call it defensiveness), acting "not so much as a decision-maker as a communicator and a skillful mechanic who keeps the machinery of the communication process well-tuned" (McDaniel, 1978, p. 361).

The literature on academic governance often so extols the virtues of the deanship. The dean is portrayed as a mediator, a problem solver, a consensus former, and a conciliator, but rarely as a decision maker (Baldridge, 1971; Gould, 1964). Nonetheless, the hard reality is that the deanship has become an office in which tough decisions must be made on hiring, budgeting, and policy, and the dean is responsible for making those decisions. "As the man [/woman] in the middle, the dean's influence rests with his [/her] own ability to lay his [/her] hands on additional resources that are divertible for faculty purposes. Survival in academic administration is the lot of those who are fittest to participate in the institution's budgetary skill game" (Cleveland, 1960, p. 26). And, indeed, this description appears to be apt. As resources become more scarce, the need for competitive jockeying skills for a dean--even among his/her fellow deans--can be expected to increase (Joughlin, 1963).

The results of this study strongly suggest that deans perceive themselves to be in key positions to act as change agents in schools of education. These perceptions are tempered by a variety of factors that affect the climate in which change can occur; yet the prevailing atmosphere among deans and target faculty members is one of support for the DGP concept. There also seems to be a universal attitude that if the dean wants a project to be effective, its chances of success are greatly enhanced.

Age and Institutional Size

The particular factors that appear to influence deans' perceptions of their ability to promote change are largely determined by the specific institutional climate. The important factors in the climate are the level of independent budgetary control, communication between the individual school and the central administration, and the degree of emphasis on faculty autonomy. Superimposed on these institutional factors are the personality, leadership

style, and professional capabilities of the dean and the way in which he/she meshes personal goals and style with those of the institution.

Survey data reveal that the age of the dean and the size of the institution may be key indicators of the institutional climate. Increasing age was associated with increasing institutional size--including total enrollment in institution and school of education, size of education faculty, and offering of advanced degrees--but not with undergraduate enrollment in education. If the research on academic governance provides any insight, these size factors should be associated with an increase in faculty autonomy and a decrease in the dean's authority (Blau, 1973). In fact, these beliefs were validated in interviews; older deans of larger schools perceived that they had less ability to influence faculty behavior and activities.

It would be simplistic to draw the conclusion that the age of the dean is linearly related, without mitigating factors, to his/her ability to act as a change agent in the DGP; consideration should be given to some relations. The fact that older deans have served in the position longer and are at larger institutions may combine with the numerous decanal responsibilities to make involvement in curricular innovation a lower priority for them. On the other hand, older deans simply may wish to maintain the status quo, having achieved a balance that is obviously acceptable to them, given their tenure in office.

Mohr (1969) pointed out that a leader must be aware that a group is willing to accept innovation if he/she is to provide effective direction and support as a change agent. Because of the complexity of their jobs--the multiple role expectations (Dejnozka, 1978; Wisniewski, 1977) and variety of constituents with which deans must contend (Baldridge et al., 1978)--deans at larger schools, who also tend to be older, simply may be less involved in curricular innovation because it does not seem to be among the highest priorities of their constituencies. Therefore, innovation takes a place of lesser importance among the deans' priorities.

The interview data seem to support this hypothesis. At the three smallest colleges, faculty members and deans were keenly aware of the pressures upon teacher education. They stressed the importance of keeping abreast of needs in the public schools and voiced a desire to be "leaders" in teacher education. Therefore, they tended to encourage and support innovative efforts which, they felt, would make them more effective in meeting the needs in the field, such as awareness and skill development in accommodating the needs of mainstreamed handicapped children.

Although the faculty members at larger schools sometimes expressed awareness of the needs in the field, they tended to deny direct pressure for change. Moreover, when the pressure for the greater responsiveness of institutions of higher learning was recognized, it was through the heightened awareness of individual faculty members, rather than an institutional response. At smaller schools, particularly those that primarily served

undergraduates and teachers returning for continuing certification, deans and faculty members knew each other, and each also was aware of innovative activities in which the other was involved. The deans at these schools often viewed themselves as innovators and stated their support for innovation; that support was visibly manifested in direct faculty contact through the DGPs.

The findings in this study are somewhat unique in that the literature on innovation in institutions of higher education suggests that larger schools attract more qualified research-oriented faculty (Blau, 1973; Baldridge et al., 1978). Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that a distinction can be drawn between innovative research and curricular innovation; the former relates to the creation of new knowledge and the latter, to the development of best practices in the learning environment. Although more than two-thirds of these institutions with DGPs were universities, almost 90% regarded their primary mission to be teaching, as opposed to service or research. These data suggest that much of the literature on academic governance may not be applicable to teacher educators in schools of education: in those schools in which DGPs are located and teaching is a mission, the personnel are still primarily concerned with classroom interactions between professors and students; and I found that the atmosphere in smaller schools is more conducive for curricular innovation.

In view of the data presented in this study, it appears that increasing size is not necessarily related to lessened administrative control which leads to increased innovative endeavors. These results support Gross's (1971) claim that the type of control (i.e., state vs. private) and level of prestige are more important than institutional size in determining faculty autonomy, and that goals are different for public and private schools. Inasmuch as more than three-fourths of the institutions in the sample were publicly supported and 90% held primary teaching missions, it can be hypothesized that they do not fit the same mode as the highly autonomous, research- and publication-oriented institutions that are touted (often by members of their own faculties) in the literature.

At the same time, smaller schools appear to have earned the high marks they gave themselves for involvement in curricular innovation. In interviews, several faculty members and deans of the smaller schools indicated that they had worked to build reputations for responsiveness and were dedicated to the task of teacher training. Moreover, they were hit harder and earlier by the declines in funding for institutions of higher education and in enrollment, and they were forced, in order to survive, to seek other avenues of funding. When organizations become unstable, they more often seek out innovations in order to rebuild and/or reorganize (Hage & Aiken, 1970; Hefferlin, 1969; Mohr, 1969). Indeed, the need of smaller schools for funding, combined with their strong commitment to training, which made them competitive, may have facilitated their being awarded more grants and thus encouraged their

involvement in curricular innovation.

It is possible that deans at larger schools may have made a clearer distinction between the authority and power to promote change in schools of education. Authority, which rests within the office of the deanship, is generally acknowledged by most faculty members (Demerath et al., 1967; Litchfield, 1971; Sanders, 1973). It is invested in the formal position of leadership--the deanship--and, consequently, in the person of the officeholder. Power, on the other hand, may or may not be within the reach of the dean. In large, highly autonomous schools where faculty specialization and individualization are emphasized, the authority of deans to promote change may be far more significant than their actual power to influence faculty participation in the innovation. On the other hand, at smaller schools, power and authority may go hand in hand. Therefore, deans at larger schools may see curricular innovation and their role in the change process very differently from the way it is seen by deans at smaller schools. Institutional and personal factors may enhance the potential "profitability" (Levine, 1980) of an innovation for some deans and diminish its impact for others.

Whatever the reason, the results of both survey and interviews in this study point to a pattern of less faculty involvement in curricular innovation activities at larger schools and schools with older deans. At 4 of the 5 schools where the deans had served for more than 10 years and were between the ages of 56 and 65, faculty members characterized the deans' role of innovator as modest at best, nonetheless noting their strengths as supporters of innovation and respecters of academic freedom and faculty autonomy. Each of these four school is part of a large, multipurpose university. At the fifth school, smaller and with a strong sectarian affiliation, faculty members characterized the dean as being able to push harder for faculty participation in innovation because of the size and orientation of the school. This atmosphere, combined with the dean's long tenure in office, increased his self-perception as an innovator; his faculty, however, defined him as a supporter of their innovative efforts rather than an innovator.

Organizational Change: The Process of Innovation

Innovation is usually described as occurring in stages or phases. In the adoption of an innovation by an individual, initiation and implementation stages can be identified. When the innovation is adopted by an organization, an institutionalization or routinization phase is added (Levine, 1980).

The initiation stage includes those activities and interactions that precede the idea's legitimation, that is the point at which the decision is made to implement the idea. Generally, the initiation stage consists of five or six substages beginning with awareness of an unfilled need and ending with the adoption of the innovation (Levine, 1980; Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971; Zaltman et al., 1973). These stages usually include awareness, knowledge,

motivation, trial, and adoption. In many cases there appears to be some conflict over whether knowledge or an innovation precipitates or follows the awareness level; in any event, attitudinal dimensions, such as openness to innovation and attitude toward the specific need, as well as individuals' perceptions of the organization's readiness to innovate, appear to be important influences on the stages of initiation (Zaltman et al., 1973). Thus, the organizational climate has some effect on the attitude and motivation of individuals toward involvement in the innovative process. An organization with a rapidly changing climate is generally more apt to accept innovation than an organization whose environment is steady and stable (Mohr, 1969).

Other factors also influence the innovative process. The mix between motivation to innovate, organizational readiness, and available resources may be predictors of innovative success. Various other determinants, for example, "organizational size, wealth, environment, ideology, motivation, competence, professionalism, non-professionalism, decentralization, [and] opinion leadership" also may influence the acceptance of an innovation (Mohr, 1969, p. 113). Drucker (1974) argued: although the presence of some or all these factors may be necessary, organizational innovation is largely determined by management's readiness to innovate. Management may serve as a catalyst for individual and/or group decisions to adopt or reject an innovation, thereby ending the initiation stage.

The second stage of innovation is implementation. The process includes two substages: the "trial" phase, in which an individual or a department tries out and modifies an innovation and, if the activities are successful, the "continued" phase, when innovations are expanded to other departments or individuals (Lippitt, Watson, & Westley, 1958). Although it appears that the implementation stage may be more individualized, according to particular organizational needs, than the initiation stages, the necessity for carrying the innovative process through the implementation stage cannot be overstated. Mohr (1969) noted that both organizations and individuals may appear to adopt an innovation and then abandon it or implement it on a token basis, thus signaling its rejection. For an innovation to be successful, adoption must be sustained over a period of time.

It appears, then, that the innovative process is related to several variables.

> Innovation is directly related to the motivation to innovate, inversely related to the strength of obstacles to innovation, and directly related to the availability of resources for overcoming such obstacles. (Mohr, 1969, p. 114)

Some change theorists (Mohr, 1969; Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971) believe that periods of organizational instability encourage risk-taking and innovative ventures. Others suggest that although it seems sensible to experiment with new approaches when the old ways are no longer useful, "individuals are

apt at such times to cling even more desperately to the old and unproductive behavior patterns" (Watson, 1969, p. 453).

A useful distinction between the organizational and individual adoption of innovation may bridge this discrepancy. Whereas risk-taking ventures may increase organizational stability, they also may produce ripples that upset the status quo. Members of both the formal and informal power structures, perceiving that their economic well-being or social status is threatened, may resist change efforts (Hage & Aiken, 1970).

Various organizational schemes may respond more easily to change. Because calls for change are implicitly critical of the current leadership, rigid pyramidal hierarchies that emphasize organizational control by top management tend to stymie innovative endeavors (Hage & Aiken, 1970; Watson, 1969). On the other hand, in systems in which power is more equally distributed and individuals and departments must vie for power, innovative initiatives are more likely.

There is some disagreement over how specialization influences innovation. Chamberlain (1972) sees specialization as restricting organizational innovation because of the widely held (and often untrue) assumption that a "good idea" will spread on its own merits. Thus, innovation is often contained within a single unit. However, because competition among specialized units often acts to spur innovative initiatives, numbers of innovations may rise. Once again, it may be that a distinction should be drawn between organizational and individual innovation. Although individual or unit-wide innovation may be enhanced by increasing specialization, organizational innovation, which often presumes that its different units are working toward a common goal, may be more difficult to achieve.

Few organizations, including institutions of higher education, view innovation as a separate task, distinct from other organizational objectives. Therefore, innovative endeavors are often pushed aside by faculty members and administrators who see their on-going responsibilities elsewhere. Other factors also discourage investment: the failure rate of innovations is very high, probably hovering around 90% (Drucker, 1974). Additionally, a significant lag exists between the inception of an innovative idea and its practical application (Rothman, 1980); those innovations that do survive often are not declared successful until years after they have been formally initiated. In short, innovative ideas are risky because they threaten to upset the existing system with little guarantee of short-term success, and no insurance whatsoever of long-term payoffs.

Administrative Support of Innovation

In fact, the adoption of organizational innovation is accomplished when an individual or group of individuals within the organization see the relation between acceptance of the innovation and their own situation; essentially,

they must perceive the innovation to be potentially profitable (Levine, 1980).

The relative power of formal and informal opinion leaders may vary according to the organization's structure. Generally, "the more loosely structured the system, the more influential the opinion leadership" (Havelock, 1969, p. 14). Higher education, it should be noted, has been defined as a "loosely coupled system" (Wieck, 1976) and, thus, one should expect influential opinion leadership. In systems in which opinion leadership is quite strong, the development of support for innovation through both formal and informal leadership is important. When power becomes more diffuse in loosely coupled, highly specialized organizations, resistance to innovation may increase because of the greater number of individuals who see the innovation as disadvantageous to their personal spheres of influence (Zaltman et al., 1973).

An important part of the validation and acceptance of innovation, consequently, is related to the type and amount of support it receives from the people in legitimate and informal positions of power (Watson, 1972). When organizational change efforts are based on the assumption that the introduction of an innovation is the final step in the change process, effective innovative results usually are not produced (Chamberlain, 1972). Rather, it is the need for planned change that must be supported strongly by the organization's leaders if greater yields are to be achieved.

Although innovators, early adopters, and opinion leaders need not be in positions of authority in an organization, the CEO--the ultimate in legitimate authority--almost always has the ability to legitimate innovation and provide critical financial and social support during the change process. At the same time, "because of maintenance needs and a multiplicity of pressures, his[/her] concern is more often with stability than change" (Rothman, 1980, p. 56). Visibility and legitimacy may make the CEO the most tempting candidate for the role of change agent but various personal and institutional factors may determine his/her willingness to undertake the innovative efforts and the zeal of his/her efforts.

Part of the chief executive's conflict as a change agent stems from the multiple roles that he/she is expected to play (Rothman, 1974). Internal change agents--people within the organization who work for change--are often in highly circumscribed positions; they may be perceived by colleagues in the organization differently from how they may wish to be seen, or in a way that does not facilitate the change process they are supporting. As the age of the organization and the length of the personnel's tenure increase, the personnel's perceptions of innovation and the CEO's responsibilities as change agent may be altered (Zaltman et al., 1973). Concurrently, the CEO's perception of him/herself as a change agent may be affected by his/her sense of the group's willingness to accept innovation (Mohr, 1968).

Application of the Innovation

DGPs can be conceptualized as a strategy to provide continuing education to faculties of schools of education, a task traditionally considered to be the province of individual faculty members. Many teacher educators, whose average age is over 50 (Hite, 1978), face the same kinds of retread problems that are faced by other professionals: the growing body of knowledge makes it increasingly difficult to keep up with current trends in one's field. In education, the increasing public demands for broad academic relevance in teacher-preparation programs often conflict with the institutions' emphasis on specialization, and then the problem threatens to widen the gap between professors in schools of education and teachers in public schools.

The results of this study suggest that although staff development in higher education is still seen as within the purview of individual faculty members, projects like the DGPs may serve as continuing education experiences for many teacher educators. For them, the curricular innovation of mainstreaming may initially heighten their awareness (an acceptable move for mustering support) of the need for the innovation, thus promoting their interest and involvement in its adoption. Moreover, the role of project coordinator, usually taken by a professional colleague or graduate student, must include providing support in a nonthreatening and often rewarding manner; it is essential to the change process. Many DGPs appear to fit the patterns of both individual and organizational adoption of innovation.

The clearest example of the usefulness of DGPs as an innovative model for staff development is suggested by the evidence of increased knowledge of mainstreaming and Public Law 94-142 among the deans who were interviewed for this study. In every interview, the deans were both articulate and knowledgeable in these areas. When questioned, they acknowledged that their involvement with the DGPs provided them with an important learning experience; this statement was particularly stressed by those deans whose areas of expertise had not previously extended to exceptionality. Thus, the DGPs, which were intended to change the teaching emphases of teacher-education faculty members, appear to have changed the interest patterns of deans of schools of education as well. Given the professed time constraints on deans (Fullerton, 1978), and the fact that they essentially belong to the same professoriate as the members of their faculties (Wisniewski, 1977), then we can conclude that any innovation accepted by one part of the professoriate has the potential of being accepted by other parts.

Summary and Conclusions

The soundness of the concept in which the dean is held to be a key change agent in a school of education cannot be questioned. This unique use of federal funds to encourage curricular innovation is an effective, creative measure of support for the inclusion of Public Law 94-142 in the teacher-

education curriculum. Although it is mitigated by several variables, such as size and perceived level of faculty autonomy, institutional authority is invested in the position of the dean. The strength of that authority, translated into power, may range from mild influence to outright programmatic direction, nevertheless the concept is widely recognized by both deans and faculty members as appropriate.

Therefore, the first assumption of the Dean's Grant Program, that the power to promote change is invested in a deanship, is wholly endorsed. In this study, target faculty members in particular supported this premise; in fact, their support was often stronger than that of the deans, in part because the latter saw more clearly their limitations as well as strengths. One dean noted that it was important to include "power brokers" in the grant and that power brokers did not need the positive support of deans, yet several faculty members thought that the dean's support was the key element in motivating faculty involvement, not only because of his/her ability to reward faculty efforts but, also, because the dean's involvement increased faculty awareness that DGP goals were institutional priorities. Thus, it is not faculty submissiveness to the will of the dean that makes the concept sound but, rather, the sense of following a proven leader in ascertaining and achieving institutional goals.

This distinction is particularly important in institutions of higher education where, as these data confirm, deans seldom have the power to dictate programs. Curricula in colleges and universities are largely the province of the faculty (Millett, 1980) and, as one dean pointed out, there is very little that a dean can do "to prevent individual faculty from 'doing their own thing'." Rather, deans are in the position to create the environment for change, using their influence and broad communications network. For example, they can supersede departmental territorialities which might preclude faculty members from becoming involved in activities that are generally considered the province of one unit (e.g., Special Education). They also can spread the message faster than other faculty members that the goals of the project are important to the entire school. Deans have more interactions than do the professors with other deans within the institution as well as with individuals in high administrative positions, and thus they can transmit their schools' priorities and needs. Finally, in many states, deans of schools of education are regarded as leaders in the field of public education; their expertise is sought and their ideas and suggestions carry significant weight with educational policy makers and educators in the field, as well as with other deans. The fact that DGPs have heightened deans' awareness and knowledge of handicappism and Public Law 94-142 must influence their contributions to the broader educational arena.

Less certainty is evidenced for the second assumption of the Dean's Grants, that is, that by applying for a Dean's Grant, the dean is committing

him/herself to facilitating the change process. For those deans who see themselves as innovators and their institutional role as that of educational leader, the DGP provides a legitimate mechanism for the instigation of curricular change. For some deans, especially those with a bent toward collegial decision making, the DGP provides an avenue to work with faculty members in an area that traditionally has been held to be the sole domain of the professoriate. But deans who are not innovators and do not wish to be considered so have not been transformed into change agents through the DGPs. One dean explained, "Whether the position of a deanship can be effective depends on institutional conditions, such as the personality of the dean, relationship of the dean to the faculty, and what power resources the dean has." In particular, how deans can and will react to change is largely determined by the environment and practices of the college, such as how the institution allocates its funds, seeks its deans' opinions, and keeps its administrators abreast of institutional happenings that affect their schools. "Some of us," the dean announced, "would not take weak deanships." Such persons can be characterized as "strong" deans in that they seek positions in which power and autonomy, through control of the budget and communication linkages, are within the province of the deanship.

In a sense, then, the power of the deanship and the strength of a particular dean may feed off each other. Stronger deans may take positions in which they feel they can use their abilities to influence the direction of the school. Weaker deans, who may be more comfortable providing less direction, may seek positions in which the institutional structure prevents or circumvents the ability to provide leadership. Thus, some degree of harmony is reached when the institutional climate and the personality of the dean complement each other. The potential for conflict exists when an institutionally constrained dean wishes to assert authority or a weaker dean is unwilling to commit him/herself to taking a strong leadership position. Of course, after surviving several years in the deanship, a balance is often struck between the dean and the office.

Stronger deans in this study welcomed DGPs as a means to continue acting as innovators (one dean drew a fine distinction between his role as an innovator and that of a "troublemaker"). Another dean noted that when he had arrived at his institution 13 years earlier "all [he] could promise was unchanging change"; he saw the DGP as an extension of that promise. On the other hand, one 20-year veteran's perception of himself as "just another person [on the faculty]" was validated by a faculty member's observation that "as a general principle [on this campus], deans are not major change agents."

These data suggest that neither Weber's (1947) bureaucratic hierarchy nor Millett's (1980) total collegium is actually at work in higher education, although examples of both structures can be found. Rather, higher education's "shared system of authority" (Brown, 1969) may more aptly lend itself to a

"professional" organizational model, in which both administrative authority and the rights and abilities of specialized groups are acknowledged (Litwak, 1961).

Because DGPs rely heavily on a hierarchical model, chances for success are highly dependent on the particular institutional climate in which the dean must work. At schools where the balance of power tips toward the dean, the DGP can be quite effective, but where a strong emphasis is placed on faculty participation in decision making, the dean's influence may be minimal and DGP success may be serendipitous at best. Focusing on a professional organizational model, perhaps by naming the dean and an influential teacher educator as co-directors of the DGP, may circumvent many issues of ownership and fear of administrative encroachment while allowing the dean to use the authority of his/her office to bring about change.

Given that the findings of this study suggest that the dean's support is important to facilitating DGP goals, the deanship certainly should be maintained as a pivotal point for change. These data indicate that a dean's interest is important to increase the effectiveness of a DGP. Deans who were interviewed expressed high interest in the results of DGPs, although the survey data indicate considerable variance among deans in terms of actual involvement. Deans often expressed their interest in other curricular innovations but the work of DGPs stood out as especially important because the dean had assumed the responsibility of serving as project director. One dean stated, "It's hard to ignore a grant that's your namesake." In fact, the deans who were most keenly interested expressed their concern in an almost personal sense, citing not only the need for change but, also, their commitment to such concepts as equal educational opportunity and access, which are exemplified by Public Law 94-142.

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Total # In Category	Dollar Amount	Education Faculty Size	# of Sites Visited	Grant Year	Region
4	Under $30,000	Under 25	1	5	Middle
10	$30,000-$50,000	Under 25	2	1	Northeast
				3	Southwest
6	Over $50,000	Under 25	1	1	Central
3	Under $30,000	25 - 50	0		
14	$30,000-$50,000	25 - 50	2	1	Southeast
				2	Southeast
3	Over $50,000	25 - 50	1	4	Mountains/Plains
11	Under $30,000	Over 50	4	1	Far West
				2	Middle
				1	Northeast
				2	Far West
21	Over $50,000	Over 50	3	4	Mountains/Plains
				1	South
				2	Far West
			16	First Year	= 6 (37.5)
				Second & Third Year	= 7 (43.75)
				Fourth & Fifth Year	= 3 (18.75)

Fig. 1. Interview site data. (n = 102)

Table 1

Institutional Enrollment

Total Enrollment

	Under 1,000	1,000-4,999	5,000-9,999	10,000-14,999	Over 15,000
n = 104	2	18	24	23	37
Marginal %	1.9	17.3	23.1	22.1	35.6

Enrollment in Education

	Under 100	100-499	500-999	1,000-1,499	Over 1,500
n = 104	3	21	18	20	42
Marginal %	2.9	20.2	17.3	19.2	40.4

% of Undergraduates in Education

	Under 25%	25%-49%	50%-74%	75%-99%	100%
n = 104	9	35	36	18	6
Marginal %	8.7	33.7	34.6	17.3	5.8

Table 2

Education Faculty Size

	Under 10	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-99	Over 100
n = 104	6	15	20	18	14	31
Marginal %	5.8	14.4	19.2	17.3	13.5	29.8

Table 3

Summary of Survey Variables and Their Correlations

PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Years in Deanship
4. Tenure
5. Rank

INSTITUTIONAL DATA

A. Type
B. Education Faculty Size
C. Total Enrollment
D. Enrollment in Education
E. Undergraduates in Education
F. Institutional Mission
G. Advanced Degree Offerings
H. Year of Education Enrollment
I. Compliance with Section 504
J. State Certification Requirements
K. Region
L. Final Budget Authority
M. Sole Focus on Teacher Training

DEANS' GRANTS ISSUES

101. Grant Year
102. Grant Amount
103. Perceived Grant Effectiveness
104. Teacher Educators' Interest in Incorporating Mainstreaming Content in Their Course Syllabi
105. Teacher Educators' Use of Mainstreaming Content in Their Course Syllabi
106. Dean's Grant Time/Week
107. Involvement in Dean's Grant Planning
108. Involvement in Dean's Grant Implementation
109. Involvement in Dean's Grant Evaluation
110. Deans' Grants Leadership
111. Deans' Perceptions of How Faculty See the Deans' Involvement with the Deans' Grants
112. Unsuccessful Deans' Grants Application
113. Deans' Knowledge of Exceptionality
114. Deans' Experience with Exceptionality
115. Compliance with Section 504
116. Local Satisfaction
117. Local Requests for More Mainstreaming Content

CURRICULAR INNOVATION ISSUES

a. Deans' Perceptions of How Faculty See the Deans' Involvement in Curricular Innovation
b. Deans' Perceptions of Teacher Educators' Interest in Incorporating Curricular Innovations Into Their Course Syllabi
c. Deans' Perceptions of Teacher Educators' Use of Curricular Innovations in Their Course Syllabi
d. Number of Innovative Grants
e. Monetary Needs
f. Perceptions of Institutional Resistance to Change
g. Deans' Confidence in Their Ability to Organize Curricular Reform Efforts
h. Overall Faculty Involvement in Curricular Innovation

Table 3 (cont'd)

Variable	$p<.05$	$p<.01$
Sex	g, 1, 102	K
Age	A, B, C, D, E -h**	3, 4, 5 -g, -a, -b, -c
	-107, -111	-110
Institutional Enrollment	-c 102, -103, 112	A, B, D, -E, -M 4, 5 -b, -d, f
Education Enrollment	H, M	B 4, 5 -a, f, h, -b, -c
Education Faculty Size	1 E 101	4, 5 C, D, G, H -b, -c, -h, f
Advanced Degree Offerings	4 -c, -d	A, B, C, D, -E 5 -103
Region	102	H
Deans' Grants Year	B e	-106, -108, -111, -113
Deans' Grants Effectiveness	c, f 102, 107, 108 114, 115, 117 -C	d, g, h 109, 111, 116 -G
Deans' Grants Amount	102, -110, 117 C, K 1	-e
Deans' Self-Perceptions of Involvement in Curricular Innovation	c	-1, -5 g 109
Deans' Perceptions of How Teacher Education Faculty Saw Deans' Involvement in Deans' Grants	-B, -D -I a	-101, 106, 110
Deans' Perceptions of Faculty Involvement in Curricular Innovation		a, b, c

**The direction of the correlation is presented for ordinal data.

Table 4

Significant Relations between
Age of Dean and Other Variables

	r	p<
Length of Tenure in Deanship	.3954	.001
Institutional Type	.2081	.05
Advanced Degree Offerings	.2345	.05
Number of Students in the Total Institution	.2192	.05
Number of Students in Education	.2139	.05
Size of the Education Faculty	.2329	.05
Tenure	.2556	.01
Professorial Rank	.2396	.01
Self-Confidence in Ability to Organize Curricular Reform	.2989	.005
Dean's Grant Leadership	.3323	.001
Reasons: More Time to Commit	-.2138	.05
Involvement in Dean's Grant Planning	-.2359	.05
Perceptions of How Faculty See Dean's Overall Dean's Grant Involvement	-.1939	.05
Perceptions of How Faculty See Dean's Involvement in Curricular Innovation	-.2799	.005
Deans' Perceptions of Faculty Involvement in Curricular Innovation	-.2339	.05
Deans' Perceptions of Teacher Education Faculty Involvement in Curricular Innovation	-.2546	.01
Deans' Perceptions of Teacher Education Faculty Interest in Curricular Innovation	-.3206	.001

Changing Teacher Education: Addressing the Political Difficulties

John M. Bryson & Karin Fladmoe-Lindquist

Appendix

Possible situations based on planning story elements

Large Public University

goal 1

	pd_1	pd_2
td_1	1	2
td_2	3	4

goal 2

	pd_1	pd_2
td_1	5	6
td_2	(7)	(8)

Small Public University

goal 1

	pd_1	pd_2
td_1	9	10
td_2	11	12

goal 2

	pd_1	pd_2
td_1	13	14
td_2	(15)	(16)

Small Private College

goal 1

	pd_1	pd_2
td_1	17	18
td_2	19	20

goal 2

	pd_1	pd_2
td_1	21	22
td_2	(23)	(24)

Note: Situations 7, 8, 15, 16, 23 and 24 were investigated in this study.

KEY:
goal 1 = easy goal
goal 2 = difficult goal

pd_1 = easy politically
pd_2 = difficult politically

td_1 = easy technically
td_2 = difficult technically

GENERAL SETTING #1

You are the Dean of a large college of education in a major Land Grant university. Total student enrollment at the university is 28,000. Your university has a substantial teaching, research, and service mission.

The college of education has 175 FTE regular line faculty and approximately 3,000 students, including 1,000 undergraduates and 2,000 full- and part-time graduate students. Each year your college awards approximately 450 undergraduate degrees, 500 master's degrees, and 60 doctoral degrees.

You have three Associate Deans to help you with the administration of the college.

Departments within the college include the following:

- -- Educational Administration
- -- Health, Physical Education, and Recreation
- -- Curriculum and Instruction
  - -- Early Childhood Education
  - -- Elementary Education
  - -- Secondary Education
- -- Special Education
- -- Counseling
- -- Foundations of Education (including educational psychology)

The college of education is responsible for providing the teacher certification courses for students enrolled in other colleges of the university. For example, your college provides teacher certification coursework for students majoring in music, art, home economics, industrial, technical and vocational education, agriculture and so forth.

You yourself usually have been very occupied with college budgeting and management, the central administration of the university and the state system, federal programs, relations with the state department of education and the state legislature, and the recurrent problems of retrenchment and accountability.

GENERAL SETTING #2

You are the Dean of the college of education in a small university that is part of a large state university system. Twenty years ago your institution was a teachers' college, but several other departments have been added and university status has come to it. The total student population at your university is 10,000.

The college of education has 75 FTE regular line faculty, approximately 2,800 students in undergraduate degree programs and approximately 800 students in master's degree programs. Your college awards approximately 400 undergraduate degrees and 150 graduate degrees per year. the college has a teaching and service mission.

You have two Associate Deans to help you with the administration of the college.

Departments within the college include the following:

- -- Elementary Education
- -- Secondary Education
- -- Health and Physical Education
- -- Special Education
- -- Counseling

-- Administration
-- Foundations of Education (including educational psychology)

The college of education is responsible for providing the teacher certification courses for students enrolled in other colleges of the university. For example, your college provides teacher certification coursework for students majoring in music and art.

GENERAL SETTING #3

You are the Chairperson of a department of education in a small private college. Your department has 6 line faculty, one of whom is a special educator. Your department graduates about 40 students per year. The department's basic mission is the teaching of undergraduate elementary and secondary education majors, as well as the teaching of teacher certification courses for students in other departments.

GOAL #1

The goal of the planning process is to bring about some modifications in the elementary teacher-preparation program in your institution. Within three years you want to have in place and operating a program to better prepare elementary school teachers to accommodate the needs of handicapped children. This should be a simple goal to achieve.

GOAL #2

The goal of the planning process is to bring about fundamental changes in teacher-preparation programs in your institution. Within three years you want to have in place and operating a program to prepare all professional personnel to successfully accommodate the needs of handicapped children in regular school settings. This should be a difficult goal to achieve.

POLITICAL DIFFICULTY #1

You are quite fortunate to be facing so few political difficulties. For several years your department/college of education has had a quite cohesive faculty. In particular, your regular education and special education faculty members respect and appreciate one another. Both can be counted on to commit themselves to the goal. In addition, you have generally good working relationships with your clinical teaching sites, and relevant external advocate groups have expressed strong support for your department's/college's efforts to date.

In other words, although there are several interested and involved parties, they are all in general agreement on basic values and beliefs.

Also helping you are accreditation and state certification standards basically requiring that you meet the goal.

POLITICAL DIFFICULTY #2

You face serious political difficulties. Over the past several years your faculty has been sharply divided over a number of important issues. The issues have concerned basic educational mission, appropriate educational priorities, personnel hiring and promotion practices, merit pay adjustment procedures, and general questions of faculty governance, among others. In particular, a basic cleavage appears to be between your regular education and special education faculty members. The two groups do not seem to respect and appreciate one another. You wonder how strong their commitment to the goal will be.

Additional difficulties include:

-- Several external advocate groups for handicapped individuals have often been critical of your department's/college's efforts to date;

-- Some active external advocate groups oppose the mainstreaming idea;

-- Teacher union, accreditation bodies, the state department of education, and state legislature have taken a critical and sometimes conflicting interest in teacher preparation as a result of P. L. 94-142, The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975.

In other words, there are numerous interested and involved parties, and many of them differ sharply with one another over basic values and beliefs.

TECHNICAL DIFFICULTY #1

There should be few technical difficulties in meeting the goal. Your key staff believes the goal is a technically easy problem with which to deal. They are quite willing to accept methodologies and procedures which are readily available and which are based on the successful experience of others. For example, there already exist appropriate instructional materials, curricular arrangements, clinical teaching models, and so forth. Other involved or affected parties can be expected to agree that these standard methodologies or procedures would work.

TECHNICAL DIFFICULTY #2

There should be major technical difficulties in meeting the goal. Your key staff generally favors the goal, but there are numerous sets of competing methodologies and procedures available, not one of which has been validated in the scientific sense. Thus, there is substantial disagreement over what methodologies or procedures to use. Issues over which there is debate include the following:

-- Appropriate instructional materials for teacher education
-- Appropriate curricular arrangements for teacher education
-- Content of clinical education programs
-- Appropriate faculty qualifications and utilization for program development
-- Criteria for evaluating faculty performance related to program development
-- Student admission criteria
-- Criteria for evaluating student performance
-- Technical aspects of relationships with support services
-- Technical aspects of relationships with clinical teaching sites
-- appropriate roles for specialists
-- Appropriate organizational design for the Department/college
-- Technical aspects of relationships with supporting departments outside your Department/College
-- Appropriate instructional patterns